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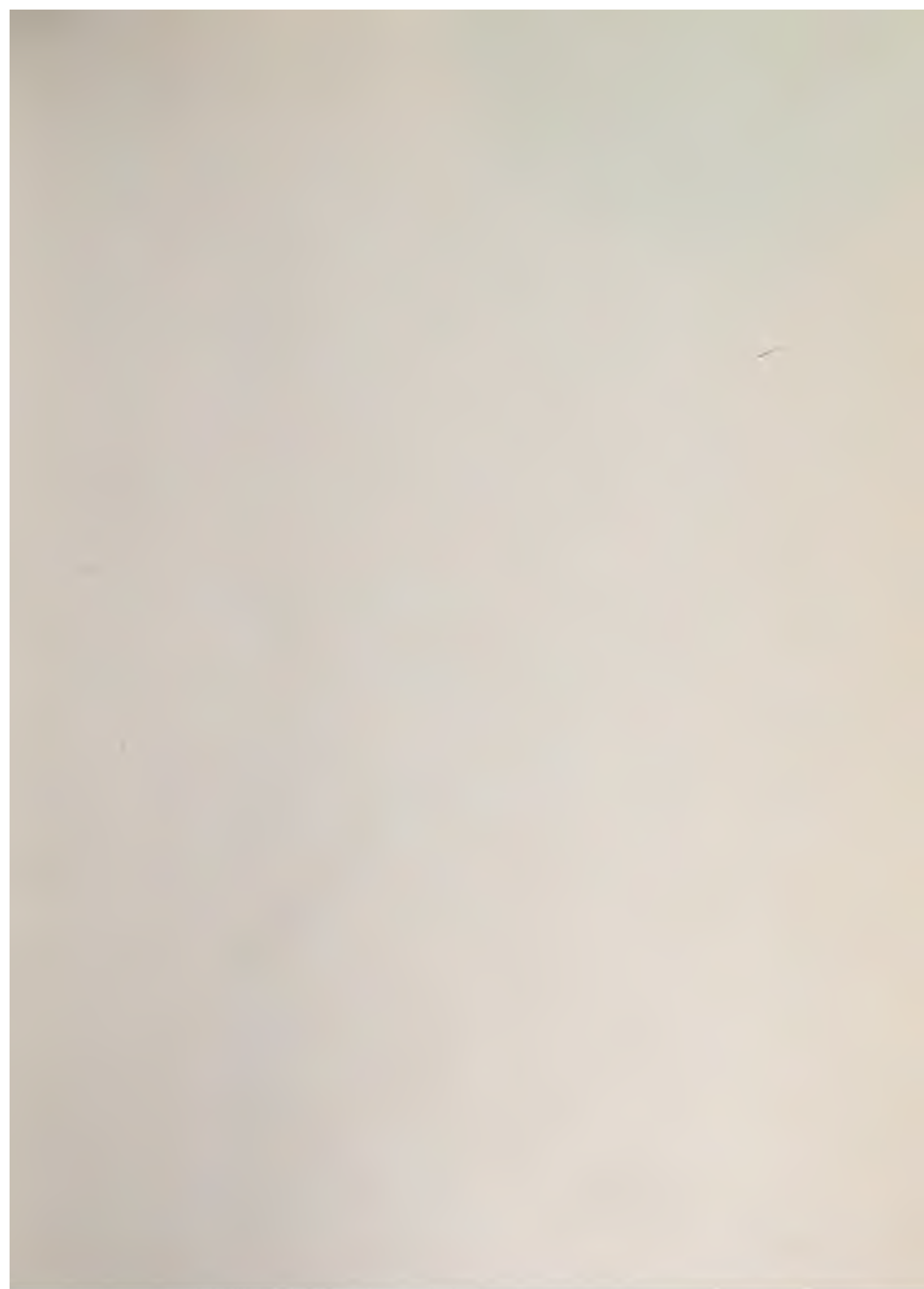
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FIFTY YEARS OF PUBLIC WORK

OF

SIR HENRY COLE, K.C.B.









Yours always faithfully  
Henry Cole



FIFTY YEARS OF PUBLIC WORK

OF

SIR HENRY COLE, K.C.B.

ACCOUNTED FOR IN HIS DEEDS

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS.

*Prose*

"WHATSOEVER THY HAND FINDETH TO DO, DO IT WITH THY MIGHT."  
ECCLESIASTES, IX. 10.

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I.

NOTE TO THE READER

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NOTE.

AT the time of my father's death (18th April, 1882) he had prepared and passed for press the matter which in both volumes relates to his work up to the period of the Exhibition of 1851. From that point, my sister Henrietta and I have carried the account to a completion, following as closely as practicable the order of subjects indicated in the first and second pages of the opening chapter of Volume I. It seemed better to retain the title-page as framed by my father, rather than to modify it in any way. This note is intended therefore to explain our share in the work.

ALAN S. COLE.

*May, 1884.*

## DEDICATION.

THIS RECORD OF MY PUBLIC WORK IS DEDICATED  
TO THE MEMORY OF ALBERT, PRINCE CONSORT OF  
QUEEN VICTORIA, IN GRATEFUL ACKNOWLEDGMENT  
OF THE ENCOURAGEMENT HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS  
GAVE ME THROUGH MANY YEARS, WITHOUT WHICH  
A GREAT PART OF MY WORK COULD NOT HAVE BEEN  
CARRIED OUT.

HENRY COLE.

*March, 1882.*





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## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

THAT the ground occupied by the Royal Horticultural Gardens (Vol. I., see p. 327) should become the site for exhibitions such as the Fisheries of 1883 and the Health and Education of 1884, was not contemplated by Sir H. Cole. After the cessation of the Annual International Exhibitions of selected objects, he addressed a letter in 1874 to the Earl Granville, and, in 1880, one to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, upon the further development of the estate of Her Majesty's Commissioners of 1851. In both he advocated the sale or transfer to the Government, of land not already leased or appropriated. He held that the policy of the Prince Consort in securing the estate for future public buildings of Science and Art should be carried out, and urged that good and suitable buildings should be provided for the National Portrait Gallery, for a Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers (*i.e.* an extension of the Patent Museum), and for a Gallery of Casts of Classical Art. Concluding his letter of 1880, to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, Sir H. Cole wrote: "If these suggestions were adopted, the whole estate might speedily be put into good order, which is much needed, and be administered on a simple and responsible system. The public and students would have the enjoyment of the Gardens until the wants of Science and Art called for any other use of them. Even the Royal Horticultural Society would be benefited, being relieved of responsibilities which it cannot fulfil. All bargaining and competition between the Government and Her Majesty's Commissioners for this or that object to promote Science and Art, would cease. Parliament would have the satisfaction of obtaining an undivided control over the annual expenditure at South Kensington. Her Majesty's Commissioners would only surrender the power of dealing with a portion of the land, whilst your Royal Highness as the President, would have the satisfaction of reporting to the Queen that the Prince Consort's great object in obtaining the land for buildings to promote Science and Art applied to productive Industry, had been finally secured for all time."

The allusion to mosaic working in Vol. I., p. 334, should be supplemented by a note as to mosaic pavements worked out with small chips of black and white marble by the inmates of Convict Prisons, under the instruction of a practical mosaicist from South Kensington. Specimens of their work—which my father called "*opus criminale*"—are to be seen on the pavements near the south-western angle of the roadway about the South Kensington Museum, as well as in some of the cloisters and corridors inside the Museum. I believe this employment of convict labour has been successfully extended since the above experiments were made.

Mention should also have been made at p. 336, Vol. I., of a series of important experiments in Sgraffito, carried out by students of the South

Kensington Schools, under the superintendence of Mr. F. W. Moody, decorating the back of the buildings of the Normal School for Science at South Kensington.

At p. 33, vol. i., *for* Part II., p. 68, *read* Part II., p. 67.

At p. 62, note, vol. i., *for* "that this collection shall be given to the British Museum," *read* "to the South Kensington Museum."

At p. 82, vol. i., *for* Townshend, *read* Townsend.

And at p. 149, vol. ii.,       ,,       ,,

At p. 198, vol. i., *for* Gibbs, *read* Gibb.

At p. 199, vol. i., *for* Macdonald, *read* MacDonald.

At p. 244, vol. i., *for* Mintons, *read* Minton.

At pp. 104, 106, vol. ii., *for* British Museum, *read* South Kensington Museum.

At p. 208, note, vol. ii., *for* Faire, *read* Foire.

In the marginal notes, pp. 296-98, vol. ii., *for* 1857, *read* 1869.

In the marginal notes, pp. 299, 300, vol. ii., *for* 1857, *read* 1867.

In the marginal notes, pp. 301-4, vol. ii., *for* 1857, *read* 1867.



## WORK WITH THE PUBLIC RECORDS.

### PART I.

1823-1849.



IN St. Swithun's day, 15th July, 1881, I entered my seventy-fourth year. Before I go whence I shall not return, which must be shortly, I wish to prepare an account of the principal works of a public nature with which I have been closely connected since I left school in 1823. A brief time only remains to accomplish this intention, and I call in the aid of my daughter, Henrietta, to help me in the production of these volumes, and she will complete them if necessary.

II. The principal subjects which I now deal with, are the reform of the system of preserving the inestimable Public Records of this country, dating from the time of the Norman Conquest, and unrivalled in Europe; my work in expediting the successful introduction of Rowland Hill's Penny Postage; the administration of Railways; the application of Fine Art to children's books and then to manufactures, which led to the transfer of my duties to the Board of Trade; the great Exhibition of 1851 and its successors; the Reform of the Patent Laws; the establishment of Schools of Art and Science Classes throughout

PUBLIC  
RECORDS.

A.D.  
1823-1849.  
Part I.

Principal  
subjects of  
this work.



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Part I.

the United Kingdom; the South Kensington Museum; Drill in Public Elementary Schools as the basis of a National Army; National Training Schools for Music and for Cookery; the Society of Arts, and Public Health.

Materials.

The materials of these volumes are chiefly the Speeches, Addresses, and Papers, prepared and published by me during the periods mentioned, with an introductory narrative. Very much of the work attempted has been accomplished and its fruits are manifest, but many of the views advocated by me have not been accepted in full, and I hope that a connected publication of them may hasten their adoption, and be of sufficient public interest to justify this hope.

Personages  
connected.

III. During the progress of these works, I have been brought into personal communication with many of the foremost personages of the time; with monarchs and princes at home and abroad; with statesmen, peers, members of the House of Commons, artists of all kinds, authors, men of science, lawyers, manufacturers, and the artizans engaged in many crafts. I shall take the liberty of naming them when I have felt that their co-operation has advanced my public work.

Causes pro-  
ducing re-  
sults.

IV. All events in the world, however trifling, naturally result from causes in action, and happen at their appointed times. Forces are always operating unseen, unknown, inscrutable. They have always appeared to me to be working almost independently of politicians, who may direct them more or less, but do not create them. The foresight of man is very limited, and I mention a notable instance, perhaps the most notable in modern times: the diplomacy of Europe recorded at Vienna in 1814, that no member of the family of Napoleon should ever sit on the throne of France; and the public may now see in our National Gallery, Orchardson's fine historical painting of



Napoleon I. on his voyage of banishment to St. Helena.<sup>1</sup> In 1855, however, Queen Victoria records in her Diary the historical fact, that "I met him" (the Emperor Napoleon III., the nephew), "and embraced him twice," with the customary mutual salutations of sovereigns. The Queen has published a very graphic account of the visit to Paris at the Exhibition of that year when I was the Acting Commissioner.<sup>2</sup>

PUBLIC  
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1823-1849.  
Part I.

V. In 1882 half a century will have passed since the first great Reform Bill became law, in obedience to a popular demand so stern as to be irresistible, that the worn-out fictitious representation of places like Old Sarum and Gatton, which had lost their populations, should be abolished, and that the thousands in Manchester, Birmingham, and other places in the North should be duly represented in Parliament. The Reform Bill led to many other reforms: Abolition of Religious Tests, Municipal Corporation Reform, Abolition of Slavery, Reform of the Poor Laws; and, I venture to say, that the Reform of the Public Record System, exposed by Charles Buller, could not have received proper public attention before the year 1835; when any powers of action I possessed for public work were first called out.

Reform Bill  
of 1832.

\* VI. Ten years before the passing of the Reform Bill I left Christ's Hospital on the 8th of April, 1823, and began to earn my living on the 10th of April in Mr. Francis Palgrave's office at No. 1, King's Bench Walk, in the Temple—a block of old Georgian buildings still standing. After a year's trial as clerk or writer, I was indentured for a term of five years to Mr. Palgrave, afterwards Sir Francis Palgrave, Barrister-at-Law, of the Inner Temple;

Entrance on  
public work.

<sup>1</sup> This picture was purchased by the Royal Academy by means of the Chantrey bequest, and is now exhibited in a temporary gallery at the South Kensington Museum.

<sup>2</sup> For reprinting this and other paragraphs, from his "Life of the Prince Consort," I have Sir Theodore Martin's kind permission.

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Part I.

author of the "Constitutional History of England" and other works, and a prolific writer in the "Quarterly" and "Edinburgh Reviews." Mr. Palgrave was at that time a Sub-Commissioner under the Record Commission, and he was specially charged with the publication of the Parliamentary writs of the time of Edward I. His offices were first in Parliament Street, and afterwards in Duke Street, Westminster, close to the notorious Judge Jeffreys' house. My duties at the outset of my career consisted in making transcripts from the original public records written in Latin and French, which were chiefly deposited in the Tower of London, and from other manuscripts to be found in the Chapter-House of Westminster Abbey, and at the British Museum. I had to learn to decipher the technical abbreviations as best I could.<sup>1</sup>

The Thames  
in 1823.

VII. At that time, transit through London was unlike what it is now: there were no omnibuses and only twelve cabs—which were not started till 1823—lumbering two-horse hackney coaches, and no cheap steamboats on the Thames above London Bridge. My duties took me daily to the Tower of London: Mr. Palgrave made a contract with a Thames waterman, for eighteen pence for each journey. He, my fellow-clerk, W. A. Peacock, and myself, were thus transported daily, in a trim-built wherry, from Westminster to London Bridge, through which the passage was safe only when the tide was flowing upwards. Without this contract the usual fare was half-a-crown. There were no piers, and we used to land at muddy stairs. I passed nine years of my life assisting Sir Francis Palgrave in the

<sup>1</sup> The spelling of words in public documents for many centuries before printing was invented was shortened as much as possible—obviously to save time and space. N and M were generally omitted, and denoted by —

above the letters, and many contractions were used. A list is given in many Record publications, and one appears in the "Miscellaneous Records of the Exchequer," which was edited by me.



manufacture of enormous folio tomes of the Parliamentary writs of the time of Edward I. and II., volumes so heavy that no one would lift them if he could help it.<sup>1</sup> About the year 1828 my name was first returned to Parliament as employed in this work.<sup>2</sup> In the year 1826 I became acquainted with Thomas Love Peacock, then holding one of the confidential posts in the East India Company's Service, as an examiner of correspondence.<sup>3</sup> He introduced me to John Stuart Mill, also an examiner, and it was my habit to call almost once a week at the India Office in Leadenhall Street, walking to or fro with Mr. Peacock or John Mill, as the case might be. On the 21st of July, 1830, I first met Mr. Charles Buller, M.P. for West Looe, in Mill's room, an event which may be said to have affected my career, and greatly influenced all my subsequent public life.

VIII. In 1831, the year following the death of George IV.,<sup>4</sup> a new Record Commission was issued. Like all the former commissions since 1800, its members were numerous. The first principle for securing good administration

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Part I.  
Manufacture  
of the Parlia-  
mentary  
writs.

Thomas  
Love Pea-  
cock and J.  
S. Mill's ac-  
quaintance.

Record Com-  
mission of  
1831.

<sup>1</sup> The weight of the four volumes is 71 lbs. avoirdupois. Their sale was very small. The names of members of Parliament, from Edward I. to the present time, have since been published for a few shillings.

<sup>2</sup> In returns of this period is the name of Mr. Madden (afterwards Sir Frederick), as transcribing for Mr. Petrie; he became Keeper of the MSS. at the British Museum. Also of Mr. Edward Bond, lately promoted to the Chief Librarianship of the British Museum, whose tenure of office will be distinguished by his being the first to light the Reading-Room by the electric light, and for making an effective beginning to print the catalogue of printed books.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Peacock was the author of "Headlong Hall," and other works, which I edited in 1875.

<sup>4</sup> George IV. was the first monarch since Charles I. who formed extensive collections of pictures, arms, porcelain, Goutière furniture, and generally of Art applied to industry, and he induced Lord Liverpool's ministry to establish the National Gallery in 1824, and purchase Mr. Angerstein's pictures, which were exhibited in No. 100, Pall Mall. George IV. was a truly constitutional king, who followed the advice of the Duke of Wellington, and admitted the Catholic claims against his own convictions. George IV.'s Collection of Arms was deposited in Carlton House Riding School

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Part I.

The Com-  
missioners.

by concentrated responsibility had not then been recognized as necessary to effective government, although Jeremy Bentham had been preaching the doctrine of "single-seated responsibility" for years, and Sir Henry Parnell had exposed the defects of Board administration in the Stamp and other offices. The new Commission included the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Howley; Lord Brougham, Lord High Chancellor; Viscount Melbourne\*, Home Secretary; the Speaker of the House of Commons, Charles Manners Sutton, afterwards Viscount Canterbury\*; Viscount Althorp\*, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Sir John Leach, Master of the Rolls; the Lord Clerk Registrar of Scotland (William Dundas); Earl Spencer; the Earl of Aberdeen\*; the Bishop of Llandaff, C. Copleston; the Hon. Thomas Grenville (the donor of a fine library to the British Museum); the Hon. Charles W. Wynn, M.P.\*; Sir James Mackintosh, the English historian; Henry Hobhouse, the Keeper of the State Papers; Lord Dover; Sir James Parke, a judge of the King's Bench; Sir J. B. Bosanquet, a judge of the Common Pleas; Sir Robert H. Inglis\*, who represented Oxford University for many years;<sup>1</sup> Louis Hayes Petit; Henry Bellenden Ker;<sup>2</sup> Henry Hallam, the historian of the Middle Ages, and Commissioner of Stamps; John Allen, a writer on Constitutional doctrine;<sup>3</sup> Edward Protheroe, junior<sup>4</sup>; Edward Vernon Utterson; and William Brougham\*,

(used as a Record Repository), when I was in charge of it. (See p. 19, par. XXII.)

\* The portraits of the Commissioners marked thus \* may be recognized in Hayter's picture of the House of Commons in the National Portrait Gallery.

<sup>1</sup> He turned out Sir Robert Peel from Oxford University for voting for Catholic emancipation. He was a very amiable Tory, the unyielding champion of the Protestant Church

as by law established, who earned the sobriquet of "Member for Heaven!"

<sup>2</sup> One of the members of the School of Design, when first established at Somerset House, which failed chiefly from imperfect responsibility in its management.

<sup>3</sup> He was author of various Constitutional works. He was warden of Dulwich College, librarian at Holland House; and was called the keeper of Lady Holland's conscience.

<sup>4</sup> He became most active in pro-



who succeeded his brother, the Lord Chancellor, in the Barony of Brougham and Vaux.

IX. A Mr. Charles Purton Cooper, barrister-at-law, and formerly a student of Wadham College, Oxford, of which he often boasted, was selected by Lord Brougham to be the Secretary. He displayed extraordinary vanity and boastful ignorance. He says: "I believe it was the circumstance that I did not possess a knowledge of the ancient records, that induced the Board to force upon me (for Lord Brougham forced upon me) the office of Secretary rather than a record man; I was appointed for the purpose of checking the zeal of those lovers of ancient records:" and "he accepted the office of Secretary on the condition that its duties should be made in all respects secondary and subordinate to his professional avocations."<sup>1</sup> He boasted that he possessed the "entire control over the funds and disbursements of the Commission, of the preparation of its works, of the engagements, salaries, and duties of all persons in the employ of the Commission, and of the distribution of all its publications."

X. In 1832 I relinquished my engagement under Sir Francis Palgrave, and became charged with various duties under the orders of the secretary of the Commission. In 1833 the duties of a Sub-Commissioner in arranging and printing the records of the Exchequer were confided to me, and I was also placed in charge of the records of the Court of Augmentations—a Court which Henry VIII. had

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The Secretary's notions of his duties.

moting the reform of the record system.

"Edward Protheroe, the younger, Esq., of Great Gaddesden, co. Herts," was elected for Bristol, 30th of April, 1831. He was not elected in the first Reformed Parliament, but found a seat at Halifax, 27th of July, 1837

("Edward Protheroe, Esq., of the Forest of Dean, co. Gloucester"); and sat again for Halifax till the end of the Parliament of 1841.

<sup>1</sup> See his evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons, 2,777, &c. He was paid £500 a-year for this "secondary" service.

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Part I.Burning of  
the Houses  
of Parlia-  
ment.

established to look after the "augmentation" of his revenues arising from the dissolution of the monasteries.

XI. On the 16th October, 1834, the Houses of Parliament were burnt down, when I was in charge of the Augmentation Office, which adjoined the old House of Commons, and is still standing opposite St. Margaret's Church. The fire broke out about 7 p.m. : it was caused by the over-heating of flues, in burning the wooden tallies of many centuries belonging to the Exchequer (see Selections, Vol. II., Part II., p. 40, &c.), when, as Jack Cade says, "our forefathers had no other books than the score and the tally." I was fetched by Peter Paul, a workman engaged in the repair of the records, who was attached to the Augmentation Office, and I found that the office was threatened by the fire. With the aid of the Guards and policemen, I moved the whole of the Records into St. Margaret's Church during the night, and in a few months they were sorted, re-arranged, and placed in safer circumstances than they had been before<sup>1</sup> in the memory of man. By a curious coincidence I had written an article, entitled "Parliaments of our Ancestors," a few weeks before the fire took place, advocating the erection of a new House of Commons, which was published in the October number of the "Westminster Review," vol. xxi., 1834 (Vol. II., Part II., pp. 1-16). A picture painted by Hayter, representing the Old House, is to be found in the National Portrait Gallery, which shows the mean style of the building, with its side galleries supported by light iron columns, into which the members were crowded. Its architectural features have no beauty, and would seem to show that it was built about Charles II.'s time.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Commons' Report on Record Commission.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Scharf in his excellent catalogue calls it St. Stephen's Chapel; and he gives a key to all the persons

who are represented in it at the meeting of the first reformed Parliament, February, 1833. O'Connell sits between Cobbett and Sir Robert Inglis, and at the entrance may be



XII. In the execution of his powers it is not surprising that the Secretary, having sole and entire control over £10,000 a year of public money, quarrelled with all the chief persons engaged in the Commission's work who wished to share in it. Sir Harris Nicolas wrote publicly against the system; so did Sir Francis Palgrave; so did Thomas (afterwards Sir Thomas) Duffus Hardy; and finally I was driven, by the arbitrary conduct of the Secretary, to memorialize the Commissioners. The Secretary, having no authority from the Commissioners, without notice, called upon me to surrender the keys of the Augmentation Office. I refused to give them up, and carried them to the Treasury, when they were received by Sir Alexander Spearman, permanent Assistant-Secretary, and never returned by the Treasury to the Secretary of the Commission.<sup>1</sup> The Commissioners met to consider my memorial, but did not call me before them. I only received a message from Lord Brougham, through Mr. Protheroe, telling me that the Commissioners would consider my complaint favourably at a future time if I would only be quiet.

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Keys of  
Augmenta-  
tion taken to  
Treasury.

XIII. I then appealed for redress to Mr. Charles Buller, M.P., who brought the subject of the mismanagement of the Record Commission before the House of Commons on

Appeal to  
the House  
of Commons.

seen Earl Grey, Viscount Melbourne, and the Duke of Wellington, &c.

<sup>1</sup> At the time when my work was suspended, I was engaged in passing through the press "A Catalogue of the 'Minister' Accounts of the Court of Augmentations," and the accounts of Bedfordshire, Berkshire, and Buckinghamshire were in type. Also a "Calendar of the Surveys of the Estates of King Charles the First, his Queen and the Prince of Wales," taken pursuant to Ordinances of Par-

liament *tempore interregni*. (This Calendar was completed.) Also the "Original Surrenders made by the Religious Houses." (This list was completed.) Also "A Catalogue of the Records belonging to the Office of the King's Remembrancer of the Exchequer" (32 folio pages from the Conquest to Edward I. were in type). The only "proofs" of these beginnings now existing are to be found in the Public Record Office.



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the 18th of February, 1836, when he moved that a select committee should be appointed to inquire into the conduct of the Commissioners of Public Records. His motion was supported by Mr. Jervis, afterwards Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. Lord John Russell, then leader of the House of Commons, said he thought the House was indebted to Mr. Buller for bringing the subject under their notice, and he saw no objection to the appointment of a committee. A drier subject than the Public Records could hardly be found, but so great was the wit and humour and exquisite delicacy with which Mr. Buller enlivened the subject in bringing it forward, that he enchanted the House. It was his first important speech in Parliament, and it gave him the ear of the House, which he never lost: it also laid the foundations of his future reputation. A report of this speech is given in this work (Vol. II., Appendix, Part III., p. 82).

C. Buller's  
speech.

Committee  
appointed.

XIV. The Committee was granted without a division; but Mr. Charles W. Wynn was very sore at the fun which Mr. Buller had made of the Commission's proceedings. The members were as follows:—Mr. Charles Buller, Burgess for Liskeard; Mr. Hawes, Burgess for Lambeth; Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Right Hon. Spring-Rice, Burgess for Cambridge City; Sir Robert Harry Inglis, Member for University of Oxford; Mr. Charles Williams Wynn, Knight of the Shire for Montgomery; Mr. Charles Villiers, Burgess for Wolverhampton; Mr. Wise, Burgess for Waterford; Mr. Jervis, Burgess for Chester, afterwards Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; Mr. Pusey,<sup>1</sup> Knight of the Shire for Berks; Sir Matthew White Ridley, Burgess for Newcastle-on-Tyne; Sir Charles Lemon, Knight of the Shire for Cornwall, Western Division; Mr. Serjeant

<sup>1</sup> An eminent agriculturist, brother of Dr. Pusey, Canon of Christ Church, and Regius Professor of Hebrew, Oxford, the well-known theologian.

Goulburn, Burgess for Leicester; Sir William Molesworth, Knight of the Shire for Cornwall, Eastern Division (afterwards Secretary for the Colonies); Sir George Clerk, Knight of the Shire for Edinburgh; and Dr. Bowring, Burgess for Renfrew Burghs, Editor of the "Westminster Review."

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XV. The Committee conducted an investigation over a period of five months, and took the evidence of seventy-nine persons. The chairman, Mr. Buller, showed an amount of patience, ability, and diligence which raised him at once into political importance, and he drew up a Report, in the compilation of which he sought my assistance, and used to call me the attorney for the prosecution.

XVI. The picture which the report of the Commons' Committee gives of the financial management of the Commission, in 1837, would have astonished Sir William Dunbar and the Audit Office as now reformed, and the Committee on Public Accounts at this present time. The facts would seem almost incredible.<sup>1</sup> The Report says:

Manage-  
ment of  
Commission.

"It appears to your Committee, that the finances of the Commission from the earliest period have been conducted in a very unsatisfactory manner. The Secretary states that the Commissions previous to the present 'nowhere recorded their receipts and payments,' and that '£360,000 and more passed through their hands, and there is no trace of it whatever.' The present Commission appears to have received Parliamentary grants to the amount of £48,506. The Secretary of the Commission, 'prior to 1831, could have obtained money to any amount from the king's printers,' and, from 1807 to 1830, a sum of £49,750 3s. 2d. was advanced by them. The present Secretary appears to have pos-

Ridgway's  
Report, pp.  
60, 61.

<sup>1</sup> I published an edition of the Commons' report, "The Report, Resolutions, and Proceedings of the Select Committee of the House of Commons appointed to inquire into the Management and Affairs of the Record Commission and the present

state of the Records of the United Kingdom, with illustrative notes selected from the evidence taken before the Committee, and documents printed by the Record Commission." London: James Ridgway and Sons, Piccadilly, 1837, price 2s. 6d.



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essed a power of borrowing to the amount of £10,000 from the bankers, of which he has availed himself, on the acquiescence, but without the direct authority of the Commission; leaving doubts in his own mind whether money so borrowed was on his 'individual responsibility or on that of the Board.' The annual grant was always absorbed before it was received. Some accounts have been kept by the present Secretary, but even these are loose and unsatisfactory. The money voted by Parliament was paid over into the hands of a banker, from whom it was drawn by the Secretary's cheques; and it appears that 'the Board never previously made an order for payment,' and that disbursements 'amounting to £700 or £800 for particular objects were incurred, and not known to the Commissioners until their audit.'"

The Secretary's  
amazement.

Even the Secretary was amazed at the laxity; he says:<sup>1</sup>—

"In the first year of my appointment, being ignorant of the mode in which the financial affairs of the Board had been conducted, I asked Mr. Caley<sup>2</sup> to go with me to the Exchequer, and I found, to my great amazement, that I was to receive in cash the sum of £10,500. I was very much surprised at it. I might have put it in my pocket and gone off to America the next day."

Dramatic  
incidents  
and characters.

XVII. A political drama, with striking situations, might be constructed by a humourist out of the working of the Record Commission of 1831. The chief performer would be the Secretary, having unlimited powers and £10,000 a year to spend as he pleased, even in "going to America."<sup>3</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Evidence, 2, 262.

<sup>2</sup> He was the former Secretary. He lived for many years, when there were no cabs or omnibuses, out of London, at Amwell Street, Clerkenwell, where he used to keep the Official Indexes to the Records!

<sup>3</sup> The Committee of the Commons finished their report on August 6th, 1836, and the Evidence and Report were laid before the House. On the 8th July the Secretary appeared be-

fore the Committee and made observations on the Evidence (8156). And in February, 1837, he issued an 8vo. blue book like a Parliamentary publication, which was entitled, "Papers and Documents relating to the Evidence of certain witnesses examined before the Select Committee of the House of Commons." It contained 1285 questions and answers which were fictitious! They were written as if asked by the Committee, who did not

chief *dramatis personæ* would be Sir Harris Nicolas, Sir Francis Palgrave, Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, the "Rev." Joseph Hunter,<sup>1</sup> and myself. But the evidence of seventy-nine persons taken by the House of Commons during its sitting of five months, gives the names of numerous other actors in this drama, with parts more or less humorous. The plot of the drama was, who should get most out of the public vote of £10,000 a year. What amount each one did get, and what sort of work they did for it, may be found out by a study of the Commons' report and of printed returns to Parliament. Sir Harris Nicolas<sup>2</sup> was the chief pam-

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Pamphlets  
produced.

ask them, and answered by witnesses, who had never answered them. The reasons for this extraordinary proceeding are given in the preface, which states (p. v.) that the questions and answers "were framed in conformity with the suggestion of my Lord Brougham."

<sup>1</sup> Sir Robert Inglis, the stoutest of ecclesiastical Tories, it was said, always declined to address a non-conformist minister as "Reverend"—but used "Rev." only.

<sup>2</sup> He led the attack on the Record Commission in 1830 by his "Observations on the State of Historical Literature, and on the Society of Antiquaries, &c., with remarks on Record Offices, and on the proceedings of the Record Commission, addressed to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, 'Decipimur specie recte,' by Nicholas Harris Nicolas, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. London: William Pickering, Chancery Lane, MDCCCXXX." Then came a rejoinder, "Remarks submitted to the Rt. Hon. Viscount Melbourne, Secretary of State for the Home Department, in reply to a pamphlet addressed to him as above, by Francis Palgrave, Esq., of the Inner Temple,

Barrister-at-Law. London: J. Hatchard and Son, Piccadilly, 1831." Next a "Refutation of Mr. Palgrave's remarks, with additional facts relative to the Record Commission and Record Offices, by Nicholas Harris Nicolas, Esq. Pickering, 1831." Then he was knighted as his reward. Next, "A Letter to Lord Brougham on the Constitution and Proceedings of the Present Commission for the Public Records, by Sir Harris Nicolas. London: Pickering, 1832." Sir Harris afterwards became the editor of the "Proceedings before the Privy Council," published by the Commission. Sir Francis Palgrave, whose Parliamentary writs are justly praised by the Commons' Report, and "distinguished as being the best executed of the works of the past Commissions," appears throughout the history, and continued in the service of the Commission as long as it lasted. Upon the death of Mr. Caley, who held the office of keeper of the Chapter House, Westminster Abbey, (and was Secretary of the Record Commission before Mr. Cooper), Sir F. Palgrave obtained the Chapter House, which he held until the sinecure was abolished with the



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Part I.

Sir F. Palgrave's petition.

phleteer, who afterwards entered the Record service himself.

XVIII. Sir Francis Palgrave considered that the report of the Committee was actionable, and presented a petition, which is given in Vol. II., Part III., p. 89. Nothing appears to have resulted<sup>1</sup> from this petition, and what are the privileges of the House of Commons, and the law, statute or common, appears to be not even yet quite clearly determined.<sup>2</sup> Sir Francis Palgrave, after peace was concluded, took the office of Deputy Keeper of the Public Records under Lord Langdale, as Master of the Rolls, who became the chief responsible guardian of all the Public Records. Sir Francis discharged the duties from 1838 to 1861, with ability, when he was succeeded by Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy as Deputy Keeper, who died in June, 1878, and was succeeded by his brother, Mr. William Hardy.

Formation  
of a public  
opinion.

XIX. After the termination of the inquiry into the Record Commission, I became busily occupied for several months in bringing before the public the Report, and the remedial measures it recommended, so as to prepare Parliament for the adoption of them. I wrote many articles on the subject, the principal being one for "*Fraser's Magazine*" (see Vol. II., p. 64), another for the "*Law Magazine*," another in "*Tait's Magazine*," and made many contributions to the "*Times*," "*Athenæum*," and other papers, and thus a public opinion became formed on the subject. The Treasury declined to pay the Parliamentary vote of 1836 to the Record Commission, and Lord Langdale, the Master

Record Commission itself. His work was then transferred to the new Public Record Office.

<sup>1</sup> See the proceedings of the Committee, which record divisions on this matter on 5th August, 1836. (Vol. II., Part III., p. 90).

<sup>2</sup> See an action, *Hind v. The*

Speaker, respecting the publication of a Paper, reported in the "*Times*," 28 Feb., 1881; and an action, *Goffin v. Donnelly*, for evidence given by the latter as Director of the Science Department. Both actions were dismissed by the Court.

of the Rolls, at the request of the Government, became the provisional administrator of its affairs: and so the Commission was virtually superseded. On 20th June, 1837, King William IV. died. The Record Commission lapsed; was never renewed, and the Secretary went into oblivion.

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XX. The publication of the Commons' Report on the Record Commission led to a reform in the mode of printing the evidence of witnesses. It used to be the custom to send the MS. copy of the shorthand writer's notes *direct* to the witness for correction. When the MS. was returned from the Secretary of the Commission, it was found that he had materially altered his answers. I printed a short pamphlet on the subject, entitled "Remarks on certain Evils to which the printed Evidence taken by the Committees of the House of Commons is at present subject." I gave in parallel columns illustrations selected from Mr. Cooper's evidence. Sir Robert Peel called the attention of the House of Commons to the evils pointed out, and the House adopted the remedy which I suggested (see *Selections*, Vol. II., Part II., p. 22).

The reform  
in printing  
evidence  
suggested  
by me.

XXI. Lord Langdale on the 12th Aug., 1837,<sup>1</sup> appointed me to take charge of the Records of the Exchequer of Pleas, then deposited in No. 3, Whitehall Yard, in a building erected upon the fifteenth-century foundations of the Whitehall Palace. It was said to have been inhabited by Oliver Cromwell. On its south side my room looked out upon a bronze statue of James II. as a Roman emperor, designed by Grinling Gibbons, and dated 1686, two years

Whitehall  
Yard repo-  
sitory.

<sup>1</sup> In my controversy with the Record Commissioners I received the hearty sympathy and counsel of John Stuart Mill, with whom I was in almost daily intercourse at that period. He introduced me to his father, James Mill, who recommended my proceedings to the especial notice of

Lord Langdale. Although my official superior, for more than ten years, he always treated me as a friend. I made his acquaintance first on 4 June, 1837. Mr. Edwin Chadwick, C.B., was also a friendly adviser, and advocated my complaints before a Committee of the Commission.



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Buller's Bill.

before his deposition. It stands in the Court of Whitehall Chapel, from which Charles I. passed to his execution.

XXII. Mr. Buller obtained leave to introduce a Public Records Bill into Parliament, but its dissolution suspended any progress with it. His great success with the Records brought him forward, and he was invited to attend to the political difficulties then urgent with Canada. He joined Lord Durham, who on 16th Jan., 1838, was appointed Governor-General of Canada. Mr. Buller invited me to go to Canada with him, and the temptations to do so were great, but the tears of my dearest and best adviser, and my recent return to public service with the Records, prevented my acceptance. After that time Mr. C. Buller ceased to give special thought to the Public Records.<sup>1</sup> An

Memoir of  
C. Buller.

<sup>1</sup> I know of no adequate memoir of Charles Buller, so I jot down from memory a few facts about him. His father had been a judge in India. Charles was at Harrow and Cambridge with John Sterling, Monckton Milnes (now Lord Houghton), &c. He became member for West Looe, and voted for its abolition as a Parliamentary borough at the Reform Bill. He was a leader of the National Reform League, which met at the Crown and Anchor, opposite St. Clement's Church, in the Strand. He was a member of the London Debating Society when Earl Grey, J. A. Roebuck, J. Sterling, Sir John Romilly, J. S. Mill, A. Hayward, Alexander Cockburn (afterwards Lord Chief Justice), C. Villiers, W. Ellis, Horace Grant, J. H. Elliot, and myself were among the members. In 1833, he was elected for Liskeard, and remained its member till his death. He accompanied the Earl of Durham to Canada in 1838, and drew up the report which removed grave difficulties between England and

its colony. The new policy gave a start to Colonial administration and that "complete internal self-government" which has extended to nearly all the other Colonies of European race. My friend, J. S. Mill, contributed to this result. C. Buller said to me, wittily, in 1844, that "he had grown out of being a Utilitarian," and "that the Benthamites had very good hearts, but wanted intellect!" In 1846, he joined Lord Russell's ministry, and became Secretary of the Board of Control. In Nov., 1847, he was gazetted Poor Law Commissioner as Charles Buller, *Esq.*, and died, holding that office, on 29th Nov., 1848. Lord Houghton, his affectionate friend, with whom I became acquainted through C. Buller, has written a short and sparkling memoir of Buller in his "Monographs, Personal and Social," published in 1873. He notices Buller's *jeu d'esprit* on the Queen's Fancy Ball, which was a supposed debate in the French Chamber of Deputies, and a speech of M.

Act was finally passed by the Government in 1838, by virtue of which a Public Record Office was constituted,

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Charles Bul-  
ler on  
Queen's  
Hall,  
Oxford and  
Dr. Hamp-  
den.

Berryer, who asked "Whether the French Ambassador in England had been invited to the *bal masqué* given for the purpose of awakening the long buried griefs of France in the disasters of Cressy and Poitiers and the loss of Calais." The subject was discussed with gravity in the Clubs, and Sir James Graham told Sir Robert Peel "there is the devil to pay in France about this foolish ball." The Press and people generally were taken in. I advise the reader to consult Lord

Houghton's account of the joke, as well as an extract from Buller's Latin letter, urging Oxford to abrogate the Statute of 1836, passed against Dr. Hampden, in which he prophesied "Si subvertimus Peelum mortuæ certitudini habebimus Johannulum." Lord Houghton wrote the expressive epitaph which is below Buller's bust by H. Weekes (a pendant to the bust of Sir George Cornwall Lewis, M.P., Bart.), in the west aisle of the north transept of Westminster Abbey.

"Amidst the memorials of Maturer greatness,  
this tribute of private affection and public honour,  
records the talents, virtues, and early death of the

[RIGHT HONOURABLE?] CHARLES BULLER,

who, as an independent Member of Parliament,  
and in the discharge of important offices of State,  
united the deepest human sympathies,

with wide and philosophic views of government and mankind,  
and pursued the noblest political and social objects,  
above party spirit and without an enemy.

His Character was distinguished by sincerity and resolution,  
his Mind by vivacity and clearness of comprehension,  
while the vigour of expression, and singular wit,  
that made him eminent in debate and delightful in society,  
were tempered by a most gentle and generous disposition,  
earnest in friendship and benevolent to all.

His epitaph.

The British Colonies will not forget the Statesman who so well  
appreciated their desires and destinies,

And his Country, recalling what he was, deplures the  
vanished hope of all he might have become.

He was born [6th] August, 1806.

He died November 29, 1848."

Another loving friend of Charles Buller's was W. M. Thackeray, who in his Christmas book of "Dr. Birch and his young Friends," thus touchingly alludes to his death:—

"Who knows the inscrutable design?  
Blessed be He who took and gave!  
Why should your mother, Charles,  
not mine,  
Be weeping at her darling's grave?"

Thackeray's  
verses.



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Part I.

and the whole of the Public Records were placed under the charge of the Master of the Rolls. Sir Francis Pal-

We bow to Heaven that will'd it so,  
That darkly rules the fate of all,  
That sends the respite or the blow,  
That's free to give or to recall."

I must add to this incidental notice of one of my best friends, two passages written by Lord Macaulay:—

Lord Ma-  
caulay's  
Lectures.

"Nov. 29, 1848. I was shocked to learn the death of poor Charles Buller. It took me quite by surprise. I could almost cry for him."

At Edinburgh, 1852, Macaulay said, "In Parliament I shall look in vain for virtues which I loved and for abilities which I admired. Often in debate, and never more than when we discuss those questions of Colonial policy which are every day acquiring a new importance, I shall remember with regret how much eloquence and wit, how much acuteness and knowledge, how many engaging qualities, how many fair hopes, are buried in the grave of poor Charles Buller." (Vol. ii., p. 245.)

Was C. Bul-  
ler a Right  
Honour-  
able?

The inscription on the monument is important in history. Charles Buller is there called a "Right Honourable," *i.e.* a Privy Councillor. But recollecting that in 1846, when he was appointed Judge Advocate General, he had declined accepting a seat at the Privy Council, "because he would not risk for the sake of a few months of office, the entire loss of his profession, as it was not the custom for a Privy Councillor to plead before any tribunal inferior to itself," I resolved to investigate the point, and ascertain if the monument were correct, not unimportant in itself, but as showing how errors arise and are repeated again and again as historical facts. And this, if an error, must remain on the

monument to be corrected only by a faculty in the Ecclesiastical Court! I might indeed have been content with the probability of the truth, but I recollected what Cardinal Newman had said of Bishop Butler's doctrine, that probability is the guide of life, and what Milton and Locke and Stewart had also said of probabilities. I put a question in "Notes and Queries" (6th S. iv. p. 408), and was informed that Mr. Cates in his dictionary of "General Biography," 3rd ed., 1881, states that Charles Buller was "sworn of the Privy Council on 22nd July, 1842." This was a repetition of what was stated at full length with details in "The Gentleman's Magazine" for January, 1849. The result of the search, in which I was assisted by Sir Edmund Harrison, C.B., Deputy Clerk of the Council, Mr. Matchwick, and my daughter, proved that "The Times" of 30th November, 1848, was correct in the notice of his death, in calling him only "Esquire," which I communicated to "Notes and Queries" (6th S. iv. p. 449).

Mr. William Matchwick, my old colleague in the Public Record Office, at my request sent me the accompanying report, which shows how curiously alleged facts are represented by various authorities. He says:—

Charles Buller, M.P. for Liskeard, died 28th November, 1848, aged forty-two. Was he ever a Privy Councillor?—Privy Councillors are nominated by the sovereign without patent, grant, or writ of any kind, admitted to membership by taking the oath at the Council Board, and forthwith their seat according to rank. Doubtless some record exists in the Privy Council Office, Whitehall, of all those who

grave, as previously stated, became Deputy Keeper, and I was appointed one of the four senior assistant keepers under the Act of 1 & 2 Vic. c. 9.

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XXIII. From this period until the death of Lord Langdale, there was delay in providing one Public Record Office, without which no effectual reform of the system was possible. But Lord Langdale commenced a consolidation of the several offices by placing as many records as it would hold, in the riding-school of Carlton House, in which Princess Charlotte, who was born in Carlton House, 7th Jan., 1796, had been accustomed to take horse exercise as a child. I was placed in charge of the building on the 25th Nov., 1841 (see Vol. II., Part I., pp. 65, 66). Lord Langdale complimented me on the removal of the Records from Whitehall Yard as the first great step in Record reform. Then followed Exchequer and Common Pleas, the Queen's Bench, the First-Fruits, and all the Augmentation Office Records (3rd to 11th March, 1843).

Lord Lang-  
dale con-  
solidates  
offices.

have been thus sworn and admitted. Query, invariably gazetted?

"Annual Register" for 1846, 1847, and 1848.—Searched "Promotions" from "London Gazette" for those years. Name does not appear.

"Post Office Directory" for 1846, 1847, and 1848.—Name not among the Privy Councillors.

"Imperial Calendar" for 1846, 1847, and 1848.—Not in list of Privy Councillors.

"Imperial Dictionary of Universal Biography," vol. i. p. 800.—"On formation of Lord John Russell's Ministry, he [Charles Buller] was appointed Judge Advocate General, but in July, 1847, having been appointed Queen's counsel, he was made a Privy Councillor."

"Cassell's Biographical Dictionary," p. 410.—"In 1846 appointed

Judge Advocate, and soon after made Privy Councillor. In 1848 became President of the Poor Law Commission."

"Post Office Directory" for 1848.—In list of ministry, "Charles Buller, Esq., jun., M.P., Q.C., Advocate General and Judge Martial."

"Annual Register" for 1846, "Gazette Promotions," p. 325.—"July 8, Charles Buller, Esq., to be Advocate General."

"Annual Register" for 1847, "Gazette Promotions," p. 291.—"13 Dec., Charles Buller, Esq., to be a Poor Law Commissioner for England."

"Annual Register" for 1848, p. 271 (appendix to "Chronicle"). Obituary, Nov. 28.—"In Chester Place, Chester Square, in his 42nd year, the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> Charles Buller, a Privy Councillor, President of the Poor Law

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The condition of the Queen's Bench Records removed from Westminster is thus described by me :—

"The documents at Westminster consisted of various classes of Affidavits, Bails, Common and Special, Declarations, Præcipes for Writs, &c., some written on parchment, some on paper. Excepting some small portions which were placed in the cupboards of Howard's Robing Room, the bulk of them was strewn over the floor of the roof of the Augmentation Office. It was necessary to mount a ladder to get access to this apartment; the roof was nearly dark, and an area of about 25 feet by 20 was piled up from two to three feet high with the documents before-mentioned, all in confusion; you could not step without sinking in among them. The mass was thickly coated with soot, dirt, and dust,—a search, therefore, was practically out of the question. The whole mass was brought to the Ride, and placed in the bays of the roof, and workmen are employed in dusting and sorting the several series one from the other; but it will be some time before they will be in a state to be searched, and before any precise statement of their nature or extent can be given."

Work of arrangement.

Carlton Ride thus became the headquarters for all repairs, and binding and placing in portfolios under my direction. A staff of twenty and more workmen of the bookbinding

Commission, a Queen's Counsel, and M.P. for Liskeard, On July 22, 1847, was sworn of the Privy Council."

Haydn's "Book of Dignities," pp. 145-6. — List of Privy Councillors made in 1846, 1847, and 1848, name does not appear.—*ib.* p. 203, "1846, 14 July. Judge Advocate General, Charles Buller, afterwards Chief Poor Law Commissioner."

"Gentleman's Magazine" for January, 1849, p. 86, gives a copious obituary notice. The writer states that Buller refused the honour of being a Privy Councillor as likely to interfere with his legal practice, but that he afterwards withdrew it, and was

sworn accordingly. A year or two anterior Stuart-Wortley did the same.

Mr. Matchwick then sent me the results of a search at the Privy Council Office, which settles the point conclusively that C. Buller was *not* a Right Honourable :—

Searched the official MS. lists of Privy Councillors for the years 1846, 1847, and 1848, at the Council Office, Whitehall. *Charles Buller's* name is not entered.

Also examined the MS. minutes of the Privy Council held on July 22, 1847. Two Privy Councillors were sworn at that sitting. Charles Buller was not sworn.



class were employed. They were paid by the hour and hired by the day—*journeymen* in fact—an arrangement which especially commended itself to the Treasury, as involving no long engagement and superannuation. As far as I know, this was the only Government office which had daily servants of this sort. Some years afterwards, there was an extensive strike in the Metropolis between the builders and their workmen upon the question of the length of hours of working in the week, and what interpretation was to be put on the word "day." I told my experience of the hourly working to some large contractors, who adopted it, and maintained it till the strike was ended. The practice is now, I believe, universal in metropolitan trades, and public clerks are paid by the hour.

PUBLIC  
RECORDS.  
A.D.  
1823-1849.  
Part I.

Journey-  
men, Day's  
work.

XXIV. The Chapter House and the Augmentation Office sent extensive Collections of Seals, chiefly monastic. They are fine works of mediæval art, and afford indisputable evidences of architectural details, dresses, and decoration. They were classified according to size, each one repaired as far as was necessary for its preservation, labelled, placed in a cedar tray, and inventoried. They may be easily consulted without fee by proper applicants at the Public Record Office.<sup>1</sup> As an auxiliary in the arrangement and in the preservation of order, I adopted colours to mark the large and general divisions, taking *red* to represent the department of the Common Pleas, and *blue* that of the Exchequer. The presses had been so coloured respectively, and I proposed to carry out the principle into other

Decorative  
seals.

<sup>1</sup> A few of the most curious objects interesting to the general public may be mentioned: such as the unique volumes of the Domesday registration of land made by William the Conqueror: the Barons' letter to Pope Boniface, protesting against his judgment concerning the dominion of Scot-

land (A.D. 1300), with its ninety-two seals: a copy of King John's Magna Charta: the French treaty of the Cloth of Gold between Henry VIII. and Francis I., with the gold seal fairly ascribed to Benvenuto Cellini, who was in the employ of Francis I.

PUBLIC  
RECORDS,  
A.D.  
1823-1849.  
Part I.

Printing aids  
arrange-  
ment.

Specimens  
of labels.

details. With such an obvious guide, even the most ordinary workman had no excuse for placing a Common Pleas Record on a shelf or press belonging to the Exchequer classes. In the modes of ticketing, I thought it right to make every individual ticket describe all the particulars of the office, the class, the genus, and the species to which it belongs. The hand-press in the office enabled me to convey much other information in this direction, which I should have hardly thought of doing had I been obliged to write them or send forms of tickets out of the office to be printed. I pursued the same principles of printing in International Exhibitions and at the South Kensington Museum. The following are specimens of the Record tickets:—

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE.  
EXCHEQUER OF ACCOUNT,  
ALIENATION OFFICE.

EXTRACTS FROM WRITS OF  
COVENANT  
on which FINES were paid.

Names of Parties and Properties.

(Temporary Ticket.)

A.D.

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE.  
Common Pleas.  
Clerk of the Return Office.

BOOK OF ENTRIES  
of  
FINES.

Classified in order of  
Terms and Counties  
and of

RECOVERIES  
in order of Terms only.

Increased precautions were taken to guard against fire, after consultation with Mr. Braidwood.

Carlton Ride  
repository

XXV. Carlton "Ride" has disappeared, and its site is partly occupied by the office of the Metropolitan Board of Works, and by the end house of Carlton Terrace, now occupied by Earl Granville. The "Ride" had no qualification whatever as a suitable repository for the Public



Records, but was simply a most spacious shell. Upon taking charge of it, I found half was filled with Records of the Common Pleas, and half was occupied with furniture which had been removed from Carlton House. The building itself was in charge of the Office of Works. The furniture was of a miscellaneous kind, and there was a valuable collection of arms<sup>1</sup> which George IV. had made. The actual custodian of this collection was a feeble old man. A small iron stove, with an iron pipe as a chimney, about 50 feet long, was carried up through the roof. In frosty weather this aged guardian used to light the stove so vigorously that the iron chimney became heated red hot, and the old fellow used to sit shivering before it, rubbing his hands until he fell fast asleep! He could only be seen by looking over the wooden hoarding which parted off the Records from the furniture. This erection of shelving against the partition made me acquainted with the danger to which both furniture and Records were thus exposed.

XXVI. I reported this danger to Lord Langdale, and called the attention of Mr. Phillips, the Secretary of the Office of Works, to it, and on the 9th Feb., 1842, Lord Lincoln, then First Commissioner of Works, came and went over the riding-school. On the 18th March following, Prince Albert, accompanied by Lord Lincoln, visited the Ride, and I was presented to His Royal Highness. I had only seen him before on his wedding day, 10th Feb., 1840, when Her Majesty the Queen and the Prince were proceeding to Windsor in an open carriage along the Kensington Road,

PUBLIC  
RECORDS.  
A.D.  
1823-1849.  
Part I.  
Occupied by  
Queen's  
arms, &c.,  
and Records.

Risks from  
fire.

Visited by  
Prince  
Albert.

<sup>1</sup> Timbs' "Curiosities of London," a book of reference always of perennial freshness, states that George IV. had made "a remarkably fine Collection of Arms and Costumes, including two swords of Charles I.; swords of

Columbus and Marlborough, and a *couteau de chasse* used by Charles XII. of Sweden, which relics are now (1855) in the North Corridor at Windsor Castle," placed there by Prince Albert.

PUBLIC  
RECORDS.  
A.D.  
1823-1849.  
Part I.

Furniture  
removed  
which has-  
tened build-  
ing of Re-  
cord Office.

and a second time on the 23rd August, 1841.<sup>1</sup> At his visit to the Ride, the Prince not only looked after the Queen's furniture and arms, but carefully inspected all the arrangements and the modes by which I had economized space for the Records, and he expressed himself much struck with them. Indeed, Lord Lincoln told me afterwards that the Prince had said if he wanted to pack the greatest quantity into the smallest space he would send for me. I reported the Prince's visit to Lord Langdale, and I have reason to believe that this visit of Prince Albert's, which led to an early removal of the furniture and arms to Windsor, and the establishment of a Royal Armoury there, was an event which hastened on the decision of the Government to provide a new Record repository. This was the occasion when my personal acquaintance with the Prince first began. Eight years afterwards he confided to me the arrangement of the space in the Great Exhibition of 1851, which as yet did not loom in the future.

XXVII. The reports relating to the various works connected with the Public Records, their removal, preliminary sortation and arrangement, repair, flattening, binding, &c., inventorying and cataloguing, which were carried on by me, are printed in the first ten yearly reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records (see Vol. II., Part II., p. 64). They were commenced under the Master of the Rolls in 1837, and continued until 1849, when I obtained leave of absence to act as an Executive Commissioner for the forthcoming Great Exhibition of 1851.

A new  
building for  
the Records.

XXVIII. The various incidents connected with the building of the repository for the Public Records have now to

<sup>1</sup> This was at the distribution of the prizes at the School of Design. He was just twenty-two years old, and I find a note in my Diary, which I ven-

ture to print, "that he seemed a very modest yet sensible man, with a mild and tender expression."



be related before closing the account of my work on the Public Records. The site of the new repository and what should be its construction, were questions which were not solved until 1852, but Lord Langdale was always alive to their importance. In 1844 he directed me to report on the measurements of space required for the Public Records. This report is printed in the 6th report of Commissioners for the Improvement of the Metropolis presented to Parliament 1847, and a copy was furnished to Mr. Pennethorne, the architect of the Office of Works, who was instructed to prepare designs for a building. I gave evidence before the Commissioners on the great inconveniences experienced for want of a proper repository, on the unfitness of the present repositories, and on the dangers from fire to which Mr. Braidwood had testified. I produced a model of a room and press which I had prepared in concert with Mr. Braidwood and Mr. Pennethorne. My evidence is printed in the sixth report (p. 17). Mr. Braidwood, the highest authority on fires, addressed me a letter, also printed in the sixth report, which is so practical, and useful for all time, that I reprint it (Vol. II., Part III., p. 92). He died like a hero at his post at the great fire in Tooley Street on 22nd June, 1861, and was followed to his grave at Abney Park Cemetery by representatives of the fire brigades, the Duke of Sutherland, the Earl of Caithness, several volunteer corps, 1,350 policemen, and thousands of sympathizing men and women.

XXIX. The provision of a proper repository was the subject of much controversy between Lord Langdale and the Treasury. It had been decided to build a lofty tower, the Victoria Tower, to ornament the Houses of Parliament according to the plan of Sir Charles Barry. The Treasury resolved to find a use for this tower, which rises 400 feet from the ground. The Treasury proposed it as a storehouse for the Public Records, and obstinately attempted to

PUBLIC  
RECORDS.  
A.D.  
1823-1849.  
Part I.

Measure-  
ments of  
space.

Braidwood's  
advice on  
precautions  
against fire.

Braidwood's  
death.

Victoria  
Tower first  
proposed.



PUBLIC  
RECORDS.  
A.D.  
1823-1849.  
Part I.

Report on  
unfitness of  
Westminster  
Palace in all  
respects.

force their opinion on Lord Langdale and against all Record authorities. In 1845, the chief officers of the Record establishment received Lord Langdale's orders to inspect the roofs of the new Palace at Westminster, in which it was proposed to place permanently a portion of the Public Records, and to report "whether those roofs would form a proper place for the safe custody of any records that might be placed in them, and afford due and convenient access." They made a joint report of the subject which may be found in the seventh report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records (p. 29), in which they considered the subject of reference from every point of view. The roofs were from sixty-four to seventy-eight feet from the ground. They were to be parcelled out into 140 very small closets, each lighted by a small window. The offices for the transaction of the public business would be apart from the roofs some 210 feet and some above 600 feet. The roofs were also to be used as chambers of ventilation for expelling the vitiated air from the buildings below. They would be exposed to great varieties of temperature, extreme heat in summer, and possible rain and snow at other times, to which 700 feet of roof would be liable; if fire occurred, they probably would be destroyed. The great multitude of small apartments would be most unfavourable to cleanliness. The necessity of ascending to the roofs would be irksome to the public. Searchers would be exposed to delays. The numerous small apartments would afford facilities for dishonest practices, and would greatly increase the cost of superintendence, which must be vigilant. The officers reported that the roofs "differ most materially from what we conceive a proper Record repository ought to be, and we cannot but regard the present design as a plan for packing up or stowing away the Records instead of a design for a repository affording sufficient space for the safe custody

and arrangement of the Records; admitting at the same time of adequate access to the public for consultation and reference. Further, that considering the extreme value of these documents as evidence of the rights and properties of the crown and every class of its subjects, we cannot think that the proposed measure provides for their 'proper custody,' or that to place them actually among the beams of a roof can be regarded as satisfactory in any point of view." This report was signed by Sir Francis Palgrave, the Deputy Keeper, F. S. Thomas the Secretary, Thomas Palmer, T. Duffus Hardy, Joseph Hunter, and myself, Assistant Keepers of the Public Records. The Report was drafted by me, and adopted as I wrote it. Mr. Thomas, the Secretary, states that "Lord Langdale entirely concurred that the roofs were unfit, and this project having failed, his Lordship, on the 20th November, 1845, addressed Sir Robert Peel on the subject, and after enumerating all that had been done at different times as to providing a general repository, urged the necessity of providing a suitable repository for the Records."<sup>1</sup>

PUBLIC  
RECORDS.  
A. D.  
1823-1849.  
Part I.

XXX. On the 4th October, 1842, Lord Langdale had addressed a letter to the Secretary of the Treasury, in which he submitted that the

Lord Lang-  
dale and  
Treasury.

"Rolls Estate, which is now vested in the Crown, affords the best and most convenient site for the Record Office and for the Law Offices. If the space be sufficient, or if adjacent ground can be obtained, the same site would also be the most convenient for the Courts of Justice; and there are reasons which incline me to think that it would, on the whole, be beneficial to have the Court of the Master of the Rolls in the building which contains the Rolls and Records of which he is keeper, whether the other Courts can or cannot be accommodated in the same building or in the immediate vicinity. The Victoria Tower would be a very convenient place

Courts of  
Justice.

<sup>1</sup> Appendix to Sixth Report of Commissioners for the Improvement of the Metropolis, p. 44.



PUBLIC  
RECORDS,  
A.D.  
1823-1849,  
Part I.

General  
Record  
Repository.

Necessity  
for adequate  
space.

Good ven-  
tilation,  
light, access.

Like a well-  
ordered  
library.

for the deposit of the voluminous documents and papers belonging to the two Houses of Parliament; it would, in my opinion, be a very inconvenient place for the deposit of the Judicial Records and the various other Records and Documents which are intended to be placed in the general Repository. It therefore appears to me, and I submit to their Lordships, that the Rolls Estate affords the most convenient situation for the General Record Office, for the new offices in the several Courts of Law and Equity, and for the new Courts of Justice. That, for the purpose of making the whole estate available for the purposes required, surrenders of the still existing leases ought to be procured on proper terms. That, if the whole estate should be insufficient for all the purposes, land, as nearly adjacent as may be, should be obtained; and that proper approaches from the neighbouring thoroughfares should be procured. And that, whether all the buildings required can be erected on one plot of land or not, it is important to have them near to each other, and to have them erected on one uniform design. With respect to the nature and extent of the accommodation which will be afforded to the Records, having regard to the provisions of the Statute 1 and 2 Victoria, c. 94, and the various Records, Documents, and State Papers, which may with great advantage to the Public Service be brought into the General Repository, I think that the space required for the reception and accommodation of the Records has been estimated very much below its just amount; and even if a more just view had been taken of the bulk of the records and papers to be accommodated, it would appear to me that the mere space (the number of cubical feet) now occupied by the same documents, or which would be occupied by them upon such improved arrangements as might be adopted after obtaining a General Repository, does not of itself afford the means of determining what ought to be the size of the building in which they ought to be placed. Adequate ventilation and light, convenient access, and convenient means of consulting the Records are to be provided. If it had been considered that the Records and Documents placed in a well-ordered repository ought to be accommodated no worse than the books in a well-ordered library, I think that the nature, form, and size of the building would not have been estimated merely with reference to the space in which the records and documents are or may be packed or stowed away.

The estimate is also defective:—1. In making no provision for the accommodation of many Public Documents and State Papers, from the care of which it might be convenient and desirable to relieve some of the Public Offices: 2. In making no provision for the accommodation of the collection of printed Books relating to Records, which, if not absolutely necessary, would be at least so useful, convenient, and proper for the information and encouragement of the officers, that it ought not to be dispensed with: 3. In providing no accommodation whatever for the Master of the Rolls. It is true that the Master of the Rolls cannot, consistently with his other duties, give a constant and uninterrupted attention to the business of the Record Office; but the business of the Office cannot, in my opinion, be conducted satisfactorily, either to the Public or to the Government, without some active attention or superintendence on his part; and it is necessary that he should be accessible and ready to inquire whenever it may be thought that his interference would be useful. In order to the discharge of his duty some accommodation in the Office must be afforded; and the provision of such accommodation will not be without its importance as a means of reminding him, the establishment, and the public, that he has a duty the performance of which is required. For these reasons, and under these circumstances, I submit to their Lordships that the extent of accommodation necessary for the Records requires further consideration. I presume it to be unnecessary to urge upon their Lordships the great importance of having the General Repository for the Records provided. Their Lordships must be aware that the great risks to which the Records are exposed, the inconveniences to which the persons consulting them are subjected, and the unnecessary expense of imperfect, divided, and inefficient management must continue until the Records can be collected into one fire-proof and proper Repository, and be therein subjected to the constant and vigilant superintendence of the Deputy Keeper."<sup>1</sup>

PUBLIC  
RECORDS.  
A.D.  
1823-1849.  
Part I.

Active su-  
perinten-  
dence of the  
Master of  
the Rolls.

XXXI. But the Treasury was obdurate, so Lord Lang-

<sup>1</sup> See copies of the correspondence between the First Lord of the Treasury and the Master of the Rolls in 1845—ordered, on the motion of Mr.

Edward Protheroe, M.P. for Halifax, to be printed by the House of Commons, 22nd August, 1846.



PUBLIC  
RECORDS.  
A.D.  
1823-1849.  
Part I.

dale ended the correspondence by an unanswerable and dignified protest, as follows :—

Lord Lang-  
dale's re-  
monstrance.

"I am perfectly aware that if their Lordships have finally determined what to do, or what to omit in this matter, I can have no hope, by any influence of mine or by any reasons which I can offer, to induce them to bestow any further attention on the subject. I shall avail myself of such means as I may possess to relieve myself from the responsibility which I think will justly attach to those who, having the means and opportunity of securing a good system, do not hesitate to adopt a system manifestly defective, although it may be (as I think it is) much better than the bad system which has hitherto existed. Their Lordships seem to think that I have little, if anything, to do with the matter. They seem entirely to forget that upon the Master of the Rolls for the time being will fall the task and the responsibility of arranging the Records for future times in the repository which may be provided. The delays which have already taken place, and which seem likely to continue, will most probably cast this duty upon my successor, so that any hope which I might have entertained of being able to perform the duty myself, ought to be, as in fact it is, entirely removed from my consideration. But when the site and nature of the repository are settled, it will become an important duty, the performance of which should be immediately commenced, to make all the preparations which circumstances allow, to render the repository available as soon as it is ready, and to do everything practicable to diminish all the inconveniences which can, by proper arrangements, be guarded against. This duty it must be my endeavour to perform to the utmost extent which the means afforded me will allow. I cannot conceal from myself that their Lordships, whilst they observe the official forms of communication, do not desire any co-operation with me. My opinions are formed with reference to my only objects—the due preservation, arrangement and use of the records, and upon such information as I have been able to acquire in the consideration of these only objects; and founding myself upon that information, I am of opinion that the Victoria Tower will not suffice—that is, will not be sufficient to provide for the Government and for the public all the advantages which ought to be secured by the proper arrangement, preservation,

Victoria  
Tower in-  
sufficient.

and management of the records ; and as the suggestion of their Lordships is expressed to be contingent upon my opinion as to the sufficiency of the Tower, I should, notwithstanding the general objections to which I have referred, have now proceeded to consider in what manner the separation of the records into classes, with a view to place separate classes in separate buildings, could be made with the least practical inconvenience. But as their Lordships have not desired, and do not appear to expect me to give any attention to the subject, I presume that they have formed, and have already resolved to adopt, some plan of their own ; and I await the information which will be necessary to enable me to conform to their Lordships' determination, in the directions which I may have to give for the intermediate management of the records, and the preparation of them for their final place of deposit."

PUBLIC  
RECORDS.  
A.D.  
1823-1849.  
Part I.

XXXII. And then there was a dead-lock for five years, during which period auxiliary forces accumulated, which I helped to form (Vol. II., Part II., p. 51). On the 31st March, 1846, Sir Robert Peel said to C. Buller, "You shall have your committee, but not a farthing of money!" Buller's motion was carried on 9th July, but no committee was appointed, owing to the lateness of the session and a change of ministry. But a public opinion was created, and with a change of ministry, Lord John Russell succeeding Sir Robert Peel, the Government altered the decision of its predecessors. Finally a proper fire-proof Repository was decided on and built. Lord Langdale made his last appeal to the Government on the 8th of January, 1850, and this was successful with Lord John Russell's Cabinet. Lord Langdale's health was failing, and he sent a letter of resignation, dated 7th March, 1850, to Sir George Grey, then Home Secretary, who had supported him with his colleagues in obtaining the Record Repository. On the 25th March he took a touching farewell of his court. He went to Tunbridge Wells on 10th April, and breathed

Final success  
of Lord  
Langdale,  
and his  
death.



PUBLIC  
RECORDS.  
A.D.  
1823-1849,  
Part I.

The Public  
Record Re-  
pository  
built at last.

his last on 18th April, 1851.<sup>1</sup> His remains were laid in the Temple Church. The first stone of the new Repository was laid by Sir John (afterwards Lord) Romilly, as Master of the Rolls, 24th May, 1851.

XXXIII. Standing at the corner of Fetter Lane, on the north side of Fleet Street, may now be seen a fire-proof stone building full of windows, as strongly built as a fortress. It has an architectural expression of truth, originality, and of its purpose, which is highly creditable to the common sense of its architect, James Pennethorne. It is the Repository of the Public Records of the nation in unbroken series dating from the Norman Conquest, eight centuries ago. It is wonderful for a completeness in Europe, or even perhaps in the world ; which is due to our insular position, and to English conservative instincts. These Records tell an indisputable tale of English events, life, manners, justice, and property, to be preserved as long as England lasts.

XXXIV. During my connection with the Public Records

<sup>1</sup> His daughter, the Countess Teleki, wrote a feeling account of his last moments and death, which Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy has printed in his "Memoir of Henry Lord Langdale" (2 vols. 8vo. ; Bentley, 1852). It relates the incidents of a noble life, and in the second volume may be found a facsimile *Contra*.

Persuasion that no one can perform all the duties that are annexed to the Office of Chancellor.

Certainly that I cannot.

Unwilling to seem to undertake duties, some of which must (as I think) be necessarily neglected.

No reason to think that the extensive reform which I think necessary will meet with any support. No political or party zeal, and no capacity to acquire any.

Declining health.

in his handwriting, giving his reasons for and against accepting the Great Seal, which was pressed upon him. In affectionate regard for his memory, and as a testimony of respect for his suggestions for the Reform of the British Museum and work with the Records, I beg leave to quote them :—

*Pro.*

Salary (£14,000 instead of £7,000).

Pension of £5,000 assured (instead of £3,750 not assured).

Patronage for benefit of connections much needing it.

Some though small and doubtful hope of effecting some farther reform in Chancery.

and the administration of them, lasting over a quarter of a century, I wrote many articles on subjects suggested by the uses of different classes. In the second part of this work selections are given of those which have seemed to me to have a permanent interest. The "Parliaments of our Ancestors" (Vol. II., Part II., p. 1) has a use for the student of Parliamentary history, and will serve as addenda to the writings of Prynne and Brown Willis. The "History of the Public Records" (Vol. II., Part II., p. 36) gives an account of them in the smallest compass. "Henry VIII.'s Scheme of Bishopricks" and the notices of education at the time, and other selections, I hope, will be accepted as some of my work to be properly included in these volumes (Vol. II., Part II., p. 68).

PUBLIC  
RECORDS.  
A.D.  
1823-1849.  
Part I.

Selections  
from Works  
written  
by me.







## WORK WITH THE UNIFORM PENNY POSTAGE.

### PART I.

1838-1841.

#### I.

UNIFORM  
PENNY  
POSTAGE.  
Part I.  
A.D.  
1838-1841.



F all the events with which my career has been connected, no one I feel surpasses, or perhaps is equal in value to the world at large, as the adoption of the Uniform Penny Postage. All the progress of mankind is helped on by freedom of thought expressed in writing. The progress of religion, morals, health, science, education, arts, manufactures, commerce, and international peace, are all advanced by correspondence, which is next to nothing without the Post Office. It will be the glory of England for all time that she was the first country to adopt this ray of light, and the fame of Rowland Hill will be imperishable, as having discovered Uniform Penny Postage.

Origin of  
the Uniform  
Penny  
Postage.

II. The triumphant success of Public Records Reform, brought to me inducements and offers to leave the Public Record service, and engage in other work. I have already alluded to Mr. Charles Buller, who expressed to me his wishes that I should accompany him to Canada, in Lord Durham's mission. In February, 1838, I received an offer from Mr.

I am asked  
to assist  
K. Hill.

Rowland Hill, which I accepted, to help forward his project for the Penny Postage, and afterwards I was asked by Mr. R. Cobden to join the Corn Law League.

UNIFORM  
PENNY  
POSTAGE.  
Part I.  
A.D.  
1838-1841.

III. Early in the Session of 1837, Mr. Wallace, M.P. for Greenock, an early Reformer of the Post Office before Rowland Hill came forward, moved for a Committee of the House of Commons, to inquire into the merits of Rowland Hill's plan of Penny Postage. On 9th May, Lord John Russell, on behalf of the Government, with the constitutional, and even healthy timidity of popular Governments, moved the previous question, but Mr. Wallace, supported by Mr. Ewart, Mr. Alderman Copeland, and Mr. T. Duncombe, politicians of three kinds, whose names are worthy of record as connected with Postage, obtained his Committee. In the House of Lords, Lord Duncannon informed Lord Brougham, who presented an important petition from the Lord Mayor and Common Council of London in favour of Penny Postage, that the Government did *not* intend to try the experiment of Mr. Hill's plan, but had determined to issue penny stamp covers for short distances, and to reduce the fourpenny post to twopence. It would have been an impotent experiment, fatal to the plan, at least for a time. The necessity of leading the public to support the Uniform Penny Post became evident, and especially so to Mr. George Moffatt,<sup>1</sup> a large tea merchant in the city, having

Commons'  
Committee  
to inquire.

Mr. Moffatt's  
work and  
career.

<sup>1</sup> I have before me a page of the "Public Ledger," No. 59, of 26th Feb., 1839, in which Moffatt and Co. address retail tea dealers as follows: "The wholesale dealers have carried their point—and quarterly sales are at an end: the hopes, the wishes, and the manœuvres of months have at length been successful. A heavy and decisive blow is thus attempted at the interests of the country trade; the old system of 'faith' and igno-

rance of costs, is sought to be re-established: *you* are to be just as well informed as you were twenty years since—and the wholesale dealers just as well paid, as in those happy days when no price list was in existence to mar their '*fair gains*.'

"The difference between ourselves and the wholesale trade of London, is one of principle—involving the simple question whether distance from the place of sale, ought to disadvantage

The tea  
merchants  
oppose pub-  
lication of  
prices.



UNIFORM  
PENNY  
POSTAGE.  
Part I.

A.D.  
1838-1841.

liberal and progressive views, who had made his fortune by the simple invention of selling tea to all retailers and dealers

the buyer beyond the difference of the expense of transit—in other words, whether the country resident who can pay money for the tea he buys, has not a *right* to the most ample information as to cost and quality?

"It is not denied that the information published by us in support of this principle, has operated largely in favour of the country buyer; the evidence of the London dealers is perfectly conclusive upon this point; but its results are more plainly demonstrable by a rough calculation of the operation of the system upon which we have consistently and perseveringly acted for nearly twelve years; during this period the total deliveries from the port of London may be estimated at about 400 million pounds; upon nearly the whole of this, *less* profit has been obtained by the London dealer in consequence of the publication of the costs; but say that such diminution of profit was only to the extent of 6*d.* per lb. on one-fourth of this quantity, (and we believe that almost every country dealer who was in business under the 'old system' will *confirm* the experience of the London trade, that this is within the mark):—100,000,000 lbs. at 6*d.* per lb. would yield for twelve years rather more than £200,000 per annum, say £200,000 *out of the pockets of the country dealers each year*. This estimate is probably short of the fact; and we are confirmed in this probability by the difference apparent in the circumstances of the country dealers: fifteen years since, few could pay cash for teas—*now* there are comparatively few who *cannot*."

It will be seen from this how prepared Mr. Moffatt's mind was to enter

into the question of a uniform rate of postage.

Mr. Moffatt entered parliament first as member for Dartmouth, in 1845; then for Ashburton, in 1859; then for Honiton, in 1860; and, lastly, for Southampton, in 1865. He purchased Goodrich Court near Ross. It was a modern Gothic building, with all the affectations of a drawbridge, battlements, turrets, a chapel, and a great hall, built by Sir Samuel Meyrick, a retired solicitor of wealth, and author of a costly work on Ancient Armour, who was especially anxious to found a family and preserve his collections together. He advertised for an eligible person bearing the name of Meyrick, and found one; but his intentions were baffled, the collections of armour, &c., were dispersed, and Mr. Moffatt became the possessor of his "Court." Whilst he was the possessor, a tablet was shown in the hall recording as follows:—"I give to Dr. Meyrick all my carvings in ivory or other materials, together with my miscellaneous curiosities of every description, including Greek, Roman, Egyptian, and Oriental antiquities or other articles, except such articles specifically bequeathed in this Will; that may come under the above denominations, in the fullest confidence that he will think it worth while to devote some small apartment in his noble mansion of Goodrich Court to their reception, either as a present museum or as a foundation of a more extensive one.—F. DOUCE." They should have been given to South Kensington Museum, but were dispersed with the armour—*Vanitas vanitatum!*

"Mr. Moffatt," writes Rowland Hill, "afterwards M. P. for Southamp-

Committee  
of London  
merchants  
to assist.

throughout the kingdom, at the uniform price of the market daily, by adding one halfpenny a pound to such price, as his profit. Mr. Moffatt formed an influential mercantile committee (see Vol. II., Part II., p. 101).

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IV. The secretaryship of this Committee was offered to me, and I obtained Lord Langdale's permission to accept it; of course on the understanding that my work on Public Records was not prejudiced. Mr. W. H. Ashurst became the solicitor to the Committee, and Rowland Hill, in his Life, gives the following notice of his estimate of our services.<sup>1</sup>

I am appointed  
secretary.

V. My first work, after consultation with Mr. Wallace, M.P. for Greenock, who acted as chairman of the Commons Committee, was to prepare briefs for the ex-

Post Office  
witnesses.

ton, had proposed to me the establishment of a 'mercantile committee' to collect evidence in favour of the plan. His proposal being gladly accepted, he went to work with such earnestness, that I soon found in him one of my most zealous, steady, and efficient supporters. Funds he raised with comparative ease, but the formation of a committee he found more difficult than he had expected. Now, however, February 5th, 1838, he wrote to inform me that he had at length prevailed upon Mr. Bates, a wealthy American, of the house of Baring Brothers, to accept the office of chairman; and this point being secured, other good members were easily obtained."—*Life of Sir R. Hill*, p. 294.

<sup>1</sup> "Mr. Ashurst, father of the late solicitor to the Post Office, having been requested to act as solicitor [to the Mercantile Committee on Postage], went promptly to work; and though by choice he acted gratuitously, he laboured with as much ardour as if important personal interests were involved in the issue. No less earnest-

ness was shown by Mr. Henry Cole, who had been engaged to aid in the work. He was the author of almost innumerable devices, by which in his indefatigable ingenuity he contrived to draw public attention to the proposed measure. He once passed through the Post Office, and afterwards exhibited in facsimile to the public eye (the originals being previously shown in Parliament) two letters, so arranged as to display, in the clearest light, the absurdity of the existing rule of charge. Of these, one nearly as light as a feather, and almost small enough to require a pair of forceps for its handling, quite a letter for Lilliput, but containing an enclosure, bore double postage; while the other, weighing nearly an ounce, eight inches broad, and more than a foot long when folded, a very creditable letter for Brobdignags, but all written on one sheet, had its postage single."—*Life of Sir Rowland Hill*, p. 295. Specimens of these, described more fully hereafter, will be found exhibited in a pocket in Vol. II.



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PENNY  
POSTAGE.  
Part I.  
A.D.  
1838-1841.

"Post  
Circular"  
established.

Average  
rates of  
postage.

Use of the  
"Guide"  
newspaper.

mination of the Post Office witnesses summoned to give evidence before the Committee, which had been appointed on his motion in 1838. At first it seems that the Parliamentary Committee did not intend to publish the evidence, but the advocacy of Rowland Hill's plan in the House of Lords, by Lord Ashburton (of the great firm of Baring Brothers), and Lord Brougham, in the session of 1837; the increasing number of petitions, and perhaps the existence of the "Post Circular," which sent protests throughout the country, must have induced a re-consideration of the point, and the Committee changed its mind, and the evidence was printed and issued in the usual way in April, 1838.<sup>1</sup>

VI. The high rates of postage were in full force at this time. No letter could be sent through the General Post for less than fourpence. The average rate was stated by Lord Lichfield, Postmaster-General, to be one shilling, by Rowland Hill, 10*d.*, and eventually it proved to be 8½*d.* Such rates were more or less prohibitive of letter-writing, and the funds of the Mercantile Committee could not bear the cost, so I had to devise some cheaper mode of correspondence, which soon became extensive.

VII. In the year 1837, during my contest with the Record Commission, Mr. Charles Buller, M.P., Sir Wm. Molesworth, Bart., M.P., Mr. Leader, M.P. for Westminster, and myself, started a cheap threepenny newspaper called the "Guide," of which I became the editor. Being one of the registered proprietors, and having to go through the dismal and frivolous formalities of obtaining sureties against libel, and for payment of the stamp duties, I became acquainted with all

<sup>1</sup> It may be interesting to give the votes for and against publication of evidence. For—Lord Lowther (afterwards Lord Lonsdale), Mr. Raikes Currie, Mr. Thorneley, Mr. C. P.

Villiers, and Mr. Warburton. Against—Lord Seymour (now Duke of Somerset), Mr. Parker, Mr. G. Wood, and Sir T. Fremantle (since created Lord Cottesloe in 1874).



the intricate mysteries of the rights and privileges of newspapers, divided between the Treasury, the Stamp Office, and the Post Office. I now turned this knowledge to good account, by devising the establishment of a newspaper as a substitute for written letters; and I submitted the scheme to the Mercantile Committee as follows:—

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"PLAN FOR CIRCULATING PETITIONS, ADDRESSES, AND COMMUNICATIONS ON THE UNIFORM PENNY POSTAGE, AT THE CHEAPEST RATE."

VIII. "For effectually promoting the objects of the Committee on Postage, it will be necessary to employ much communication through the Post Office. This will be a very expensive operation. A great part of the documents, such as forms of petitions, addresses to corporations of all kinds, whether for commerce, municipal government, charitable purposes, literature, science, &c., will, of course, be printed. If printed as individual documents, they will pass through the Post Office, chargeable with the usual rates of postage as letters. It seems practicable to adopt a plan by printing these papers in the form of a newspaper, which will insure their transmission through the Post Office, at the charge of one penny each. If a small sheet of paper, partially filled with addresses, petitions, or documents relating to the discussion of Postage, together with the NEWS<sup>1</sup> of the day most appurtenant to the subject, such as Parliamentary debates and notices of meetings on the Postage, be entitled with a name, "The Universal Penny Post," and entered at the Stamp Office, it would be carried by the Post *freely*. Besides the obvious advantages of the cheapest mode of

Origin of  
the "Post  
Circular."

Its uses and  
saving of  
postage.

<sup>1</sup> The insertions of "News" constituted the legal basis of a newspaper; and legal questions of what is "news" were often raised both by the Stamp Office and Post Office. "News" was not made clear until

Mr. Milner Gibson, M.P., obtained the abolition of the stamp after efforts at last crowned with success. Mr. F. Place, on Nov. 1st, called upon me to urge action for getting rid of the Newspaper Penny Stamp.

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1838-1841.

The Post  
Office its own  
reformer.

transmission, which these Papers being in a newspaper form would insure, there would arise another advantage scarcely less important, namely, that of having a medium for recording the transactions of the Committee, promulgating the effect of its labours, and ascertaining the feeling of the public on the subject. *The Post Office, if this plan were adopted, would thus become the chief instrument for reforming itself.* The expenses of transmitting any number of addresses by this scheme, would be demonstrated to be far less than the same number printed as separate letters, and sent by the Post. It is not assumed that the public would purchase this paper to any extent, though I believe there would be a trifling sale, and as any sale would, *pro tanto*, be a good, by distributing information on the subject, it might be advisable to fix a price which would just cover the cost of the penny stamp and the paper and printing. But it might be possible, I think, by permitting advertisements to be inserted, to make the paper, if not profitable, at least to pay the expenses of a few hundred copies, which would be all that the Society would require for its own purposes of distribution. Every advertiser desires to extend the knowledge of his advertisement; and by giving copies of the paper in proportion to the length of the advertisement, whilst the advertiser distributed the paper for the sake of his advertisement, he would at the same time be distributing a knowledge of the subject of Postage. I would propose to give to every advertiser, a proportionate amount of copies of the paper to his advertisement, say every line of advertisement should entitle the advertiser to two copies. It would be premature to enter into particulars of the probable cost of the experiment until the plan itself is approved of. I think it might be assumed that the printing, paper, stamp, and circulation, postage-free, of 500 copies filled with various postage matter, would not exceed £5, whilst



the same number of single letters on one point only would cost £12 10s. for postage at an average of 6d. per letter."

IX. Mr. Charles Whiting, a printer in Beaufort Buildings in the Strand, offered to take the risk of such a paper, upon the condition that the Mercantile Committee took 500 copies of each number, and paid £6. 6s. for each issue. The Committee accepted the offer, and the first number was published by Henry Hooper, of 13, Pall Mall East, on 14th March, 1838.

X. Whatever powers of invention I possessed, were exercised on this newspaper (see note to Vol. II., Part II., p. 105). I had to fight the battle of its transmission through the post. A copy of the first number was issued to three thousand clergymen, as well Church of England as Dissenting Ministers; to the clerk of every Poor Law Union, to be laid before the Boards of Guardians; to every provincial newspaper; to most of the permanent and subscription libraries throughout the United Kingdom; to the Town Clerks of all Municipal Corporations; to numerous Chambers of Commerce; to the commercial rooms of most respectable inns; besides to many private individuals. Several hundred copies of the first number were charged postage by the Post Office. They had all been stamped at the Stamp Office, but they were so charged because, as Mr. Lawrence of the Post Office wrote to Mr. Hooper, "no authority had then been received to pass it free as a newspaper!" Among those charged, were copies sent by Mr. Wallace, M.P., and the correspondence on the subject explains the anomaly, and is sufficiently amusing to be quoted as evidence of a state of Post Office administration forty years ago, which has passed away for ever.

#### WHAT IS A NEWSPAPER?

*To the Editor of the Post Circular.*

"SIR,—The enclosed correspondence with the Postmaster-General, will show that the 'Post Circulars' of last week were

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PENNY  
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1838-1841.

First number  
of "Post  
Circular"  
appeared  
on 14th  
March, 1838.

Circulation  
stopped  
in the Post  
Office.

Mr. Wal-  
lace's letters.

UNIFORM  
PENNY  
POSTAGE.  
Part I.  
A.D.  
1838-1841.

Post Office  
refusal to  
send "Post  
Circular."

charged with postage, under circumstances it is proper to draw the attention of your readers to, and all others who are desirous of rational powers only, being intrusted to a fellow subject. It will be seen that the Postmaster-General possesses the right, at any rate he exercises the power, of deciding what shall constitute a newspaper. He, a peer of Parliament totally unacquainted with mercantile affairs, exercises also the same inquisitorial power in determining what shall constitute Mercantile Circulars and Prices Current. These by law, however carefully concealed the privilege has been, may pass under a penny stamp, or a penny postage, but their form and substance comes within the grasp of the Postmaster-General; and the mercantile world know, from sad experience, what an iron hand they have to deal with. This is a power which would well befit the Autocrat of Russia; and I exhibit its existence, that the people may judge for themselves how long they will submit to be degraded by the infliction of such a law. Colonel Maberley stated lately before the Committee on Postage, of which I am Chairman, that my franks are regularly watched and counted at the General Post-office; it now appears that my handwriting on the back of a newspaper is also watched for there. No doubt this is very flattering to me; but let us inquire 'who pays the piper,' as we say in Scotland. Why the people do, as they are made to do for many other similar vagaries of legislation now-a-days. There being one man then to count the franks of an humble individual, and another to watch his handwriting, there need be no wonder at the enormous sum expended in maintaining the present system of Post-office mismanagement, and the extravagant postage requisite to uphold all the drones who benefit thereby. Sir, your obedient servant, ROBERT WALLACE.

"P.S. The papers were sent I rather think on the evening of Thursday."

*To the Right Honourable the Earl of Lichfield, &c. &c.*

Mr. Wallace  
addresses  
Lord Lich-  
field.

"My Lord,—On Friday last I sent six copies of the 'Post Circular' newspaper to different parties, one of which was to Mrs. Wallace, at Fairlie House, Kilmarnock. By this day's post, Mrs. Wallace informs me that a paper, apparently a newspaper, was sent, charged with a postage of 2s. 4d., which she refused to pay,



and the paper was retained. I require to be informed by your lordship if the 'Post Circulars' of last week were charged with postage generally. If so, if they were so charged by your lordship's orders, and why; and if those now issued for the present week are also to be charged, why they are to be so? If no general charge was made last week, I beg to be informed why the paper I addressed to Mrs. Wallace, was charged with postage. I have the honour to be, &c. (Signed) ROBERT WALLACE."

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PENNY  
POSTAGE.  
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A. D.  
1838-1841.

"General Post-office, March 23, 1838.

"Sir,—In reply to your note of the 22nd instant, I am commanded by the Postmaster-General, to inform you that, in consequence of the 'Post Circulars' being sent without any previous instructions at the Inland Office, on Thursday the 16th instant, they were all charged with postage, the officers on duty being doubtful whether the publication alluded to, could be considered a newspaper, under the Act. This question, however, being submitted to the Solicitor and Postmaster-General the following morning, it was decided by the Postmaster-General to be a newspaper, and orders consequently given, that it should circulate free of charge for the future. The amount has been refunded in all those cases where applications have been made; and, of course, the same will be followed with respect to Mrs. Wallace, who will be relieved from the charge of postage. The circumstance of a 'Post Circular,' apparently in your handwriting, being charged, is distinctly recollected in the Inland Office; but it occurred on Thursday, and not on Friday night, and upon this point, therefore, there must be some misapprehension. I have the honour, &c., W. MABERLEY. Robert Wallace, Esq., M.P., 1, Great Scotland-yard."

Post Office  
answer.

XI. The franking of Letters by Members of Parliament existed at that time. They could receive an unlimited number of letters free of postage, of any weight, even a pianoforte, a saddle, a haunch of venison, and they might send out fourteen a day. Sir Charles Lemon, Mr. Monckton Milnes, Mr. Ellice, Mr. C. P. Villiers, Mr. C. Buller, The Hon. P. Butler, &c., gave permission for letters on Uniform Penny Postage to be sent to them.

Franking.

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POSTAGE.  
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1838-1841.  
Lectures.

Placards.

Absurdities  
of postage  
charges by  
weight.

XII. Besides the publication of the "Post Circular," I proposed that lectures on Postage Reform should be given, and an offer was made to Thomas Carlyle, who was a strong advocate of the reform, which after some hesitation he declined. The "Post Circular" was issued in various shapes. On July 5th, 1838, the article which I had written for the "London and Westminster Review" was reprinted as a pamphlet. No. 10 of the "Post Circular" was used as a placard, which was printed in colours of red and green in the inside. In order to popularize the idea of the Uniform Penny Postage and the freedom of letter-writing through its medium, I wrote a scene for the Christmas pantomime of *Fair Rosamond* then to be acted at Covent Garden, which Macready accepted, and directed Mr. Young, the pantomimist, on 10th December, 1838, to introduce it, but my scene was not produced for want of time in preparation. Thackeray afterwards drew and sent me a sketch for a valentine of a postman struggling with letters that nearly smothered him. Another device to show the absurdities of the rates of postage, was adopted. Two letters were prepared as already noticed by Rowland Hill, one being a large sheet of paper weighing under an ounce. If kept dry, it was charged only as a *single* postage, but if it became damp and turned the scale of one ounce even by a grain, it would be raised to fourfold postage. Another letter, weighing under eight grains, was also prepared. It consisted of two pieces of thin paper, and therefore was charged as a *double* letter. Fifty of each specimen were sent to the Charing Cross Post Office, by a clerk who had some humour. He produced first one of the largest letters. The clerk looked at it suspiciously. He held it before the lamp to see if it were really a single sheet. He summoned another clerk to help his judgment. All this caused a delay, and a crowd began to collect at the window, who watched the process with



interest. At last the clerk marked it with the *single* rate, and the spectators laughed. Then the smallest letter was produced, and the Post Office official turned crimson, became furious, and cursed a little, but he could not help marking it *double* postage. Roars of laughter came from the crowd. Then fifty more of each letter were produced and marked, the large heavy ones with *single* postage, the little light ones with *double*. During the process the crowd impatiently filled up the whole of the pavement, and scoffed. No less amusement was produced in the House of Commons when Mr. Wallace exhibited the big and little letters. (See Vol. II. for specimens inserted in a pocket.)

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Scene at  
Charing  
Cross.

XIII. Great meetings followed the publication of the "Post Circular." At Manchester, Mr. Cobden spoke lengthily in favour of Rowland Hill's plan; at Liverpool, where the Penny Postage was supported by Mr. William Brown, who presented the town with a public library; at Greenock, Edinburgh, Worcester, Glasgow, Brighton, Portsmouth, Plymouth, Cardiff, Devonport, Birmingham, Hull, Berwick, Exeter, Norwich, Aberdeen, Carlisle, and many other places. Petitions began to flow in, and politicians on both sides, were called upon by their constituents to present them. Sir Robert Peel's cautious mind was trained by being asked to present many, which he did. In the year 1837, *five* petitions were presented; in the Session of 1838, upwards of 320 petitions were presented, seventy-three of which came from Town Councils, 145 from merchants, bankers, traders, &c., nineteen from Chambers of Commerce, ten from Commissioners of Supply, thirty-seven from printing offices, and the rest from Mechanic's Institutes, Fire and Life insurance offices, Churches, &c. In the following year, 1839, up to 20th July, the petitions increased beyond 2,007. The "Post Circular" gives a summary as follows:—

Public meet-  
ings.

Petitions.



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1838-1841.  
Petitions  
presented in  
1839.

*"Summary of the 2,007 Petitions for the Uniform Penny Postage, presented to the House of Commons (exclusive of the same number most probably, to the House of Lords) this Session, up to the 20th July.*

	No. of Petitions.
Town Councils . . . . .	148
Commissioners of Supply in Scotland . . . . .	10
Inhabitants of places . . . . .	1173
Professional Associations . . . . .	83
Mechanics' Institutes, &c. . . . .	58
Poor Law Unions . . . . .	20
Vestries . . . . .	3
Schools . . . . .	12
Females . . . . .	8
Farmers attending Markets . . . . .	9
Printers . . . . .	5
London Printers . . . . .	86
Newspapers . . . . .	10
Chambers of Commerce . . . . .	42
Trades and Manufactures . . . . .	168
Mercantile Firms (London) . . . . .	128
London Druggists . . . . .	16
Individuals . . . . .	28

Total (with 262,809 signatures), 2,007

A few samples of the various kinds of petitions to attract every class, are given (see Vol. II., Part II., p. 106).

Weight of  
mails.

XIV. For the special information of members of Parliament and the instruction of the Postmaster-General, I prepared and published in No. 12 of the "Post Circular" a diagram of the Edinburgh mail on 2nd March, 1838 (see Vol. II., Part II., p. 102). Sir Rowland Hill thus describes it as—

"One of those amusing devices with which my friend Mr. Henry Cole knew so well how to strike the public eye. Probably the reader will not be displeased at its reproduction. The Edinburgh Mail Coach, it will be seen, is depicted with the guard, coachman,

and two outside passengers; the letter bags—which, as all the world knows, or then knew, usually occupied the hind boot, so as to lie under the guard's foot—are by an artistic liberty placed on the roof, the whole being arranged in divisions of franks, newspapers, Stamp Office parcels, and chargeable letters; the first three, which are free of postage, occupy the whole roof, the last lying in small space on the top of one of the bulky divisions, the proportions being those of the mail conveyed on March 2nd, 1838. The legend below sums up the tale."—"Life of Sir Rowland Hill," p. 340.

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XV. During 1839 I prepared the dialogue of an imaginary scene at Windsor Castle, when I took the liberty of supposing the Queen present with Lord Melbourne and Lord Lichfield, and discussing the Penny Postage. Upwards of ninety-two thousand copies of this scene were distributed throughout the United Kingdom (see Vol. II., Part II., p. 95).

Dialogue at  
Windsor.

XVI. I refer the reader to Rowland Hill's account of the proceedings at the Parliamentary Committee (Vol. I. of his Life, p. 295). On the 17th July, 1838, the Committee divided on the motion to establish a *uniform rate of inland postage*. Uniformity was the keystone of Rowland Hill's great discovery; for discovery it was, made, through steps of facts and logical reasoning, unanswerable. This critical motion was carried only by the casting vote of Mr. Wallace. The next motion to adopt a penny as the charge was rejected by six to three. Mr. Warburton then proposed a uniform rate of three halfpence, and the motion was lost by six to four. Mr. Warburton, on the second day, proposed a uniform rate of twopence the half-ounce. The Committee was equally divided, and again the Chairman's casting vote carried it. At length, a long and exhaustive report was adopted in favour of the great principle of uniformity, and a twopenny charge for a single letter. The final report was the work of Mr. Wallace and Mr. Warburton, assisted by

Uniformity  
the keystone  
of the plan.



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PENNY  
POSTAGE.  
Part I.  
A.D.  
1838-1841.  
Petitions for  
Uniform  
Penny  
Postage.

Rowland Hill and myself (see his Life, Vol. I., p. 331-3, for interesting details of its preparation).

XVII. Before the opening of the Session in 1839, I was much occupied in preparing and provoking the adoption of petitions throughout the United Kingdom, as already described, in favour, not of the report of the Parliamentary Committee, but of the uniform penny postage payable in advance.

XVIII. Mr. Moffatt and myself had resolved firmly to leave no stone unturned to obtain the uniform PENNY rate, and I consider that the *early* adoption of a PENNY rather than a TWOPENNY rate was mainly due to his courageous exertions. It is due to Mr. Rintoul, the Editor of the "Spectator," to record the continued assistance which that able paper gave to the advocacy of the measure. On 9th March, the third report of the Select Committee, filling a full number of the "Spectator," was reprinted *in extenso*.

Deputation  
to Lord  
Melbourne.

XIX. On the 2nd day of May, 1839, a numerous deputation was received by Lord Melbourne, for urging the adoption of the Uniform Penny Postage. He was accompanied by Mr. Spring Rice, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. F. T. Baring, Secretary of the Treasury. The deputation came from the City of London Mercantile Committee, attended by Mr. Warburton and about 150 other members of the House of Commons. There are vellum rolls of the thirteenth century still consultable, which record the names of Barons present in the wars of the period; and I venture to think antiquaries, centuries hence, will regard with interest the names of the peaceful band of combatants who fought for the Uniform Penny Postage, and will welcome a record of them. Among the gentlemen who attended were the following:—The members of the Mercantile Committee present, were, Messrs. J. Pattison, M.P., W. H. Ashurst, Frederick L. Cole, J. Dillon, H. Gledstanes, G. Moffatt, J.



Travers, W. A. Wilkinson, and Lestock Wilson. Among the members of the House of Commons were the following well-known names:—H. Aglionby, E. Baines, F. B. Beamish, J. Bowes, C. Buller, J. Brotherton, Raikes Currie, Sir J. Campbell (Attorney-General), Sir E. Codrington, S. Crawley, T. Duncombe, Hon. C. Dundas, Right Hon. E. Ellice, W. Ewart, Howard Elphinstone, J. Easthope, Lord Euston, R. Ferguson, R. C. Ferguson, Sir John Guest, T. Milner Gibson, A. Hastie, Joseph Hume, T. B. Hobhouse, W. G. Hayter, C. Hindley, D. Whittle Harvey, E. Horsman, B. Hawes, J. Heathcoat, P. Howard, A. Kinnaid, J. S. Lefevre, C. Langdale, Sir W. Molesworth, W. Marshall, P. St. John Mildmay, Daniel O'Connell and four other O'Connells, J. Pease, W. R. C. Stansfield, E. Strutt, Sir G. Strickland, J. Scholefield, Lord J. Stuart, B. Smith, T. Thorneley, C. P. Villiers, H. Warburton, H. G. Ward, Alderman Sir M. Wood, and W. Williams. I assisted Mr. Warburton to organize this deputation.

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Part I.

M.P.s present.

Mr. **WARBURTON** stated that he had been requested to introduce the deputation in the absence of Mr. Wallace; and then in a very clear and forcible manner represented the objects of the deputation. He stated that the plan proposed by Mr. R. Hill, had been thoroughly examined; its adoption had been recommended by the Parliamentary Committee, and in proportion as it had become known, it had received the sanction and support of public opinion; and that opinion had become so general and so strong, that the very numerous attendance of members of Parliament, in addition to the deputation from the Mercantile Committee, was the result. They were there to evidence to his lordship the strong interest felt by their several constituencies, and by the commercial and trading interests, for the adoption of this measure. The Parliamentary Committee had been assisted by a Committee of Merchants, who had been able, from their high respectability and great influence, to produce a great body of evidence in support of the proposal, and showing its vital importance to the commercial and trading interests of the country. He pressed this matter upon his

Mr. Warburton's address.

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PENNY  
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lordship's attention on its own merits, as well as from a conviction that it would be felt and received from the highest to the lowest, as a boon, if conceded *now*. To the poor he might say in particular, it would be an invaluable concession, and one that would be received, from whoever should concede it, as a highly popular measure. If he might be pardoned for making the observation upon such an occasion, he would say it would be a concession so wise, that it would be well calculated to make any government justly popular, and he would strongly urge it as a measure which a Liberal party had a just right to expect from a Liberal administration. There was no measure that could be immediately granted, the benefits of which would be so extensively felt, or that would be so well calculated to remove, in a considerable degree, that discontent which it could not be denied or disguised now existed. As to the revenue, that was a matter not to be overlooked or lightly considered, and it had been well considered by the Parliamentary as well as the Mercantile Committee. The returns of the advertisement duty for five years before and the five years next following the repeal, showed that the reduction of the duty, slight as it was, compared with that now proposed on postage, had converted a slightly decreasing return into an increasing product; it had increased, and in the last year, 1838, was still increasing. He then referred to the importance of the testimony of Sir Edward Lees, the Post-office Secretary for Scotland, and said the result of the whole in the minds of those who had maturely and fully considered the matter was, that a penny postage for the whole of the three kingdoms, was the only *safe* sum in a fiscal point of view. Mr. TRAVERS, as one of the London Mercantile Committee, could assure his lordship that this matter had been maturely considered by men of great commercial experience, and that the conviction was general that the revenue would be safe at a penny, but that twopence would not yield the great result commercially, which a penny, in his judgment, would certainly yield. He should be afraid of obtaining his lordship's belief, if, on an occasion like the present, requiring a subdued expression of conviction as to results yet to be produced, he was to state the extent of his own confident anticipations; but he would assure his lordship that the concession would not only enable merchants and traders to do their business much better, but also greatly enlarge the

Mr. Travers  
on smuggling.



quantity done. The increase to the general revenue from that, would not escape his lordship. But one grave and serious evil would not be removed by a twopenny rate—that was evasion and smuggling. His lordship could have no adequate idea of the extent to which the present heavy rates forced the smuggling practice upon all—not the smaller traders only—he did not except himself; and though he was not to be classed among the highest or the lowest, those of greater, as well as those of less extensive commercial importance were driven to this practice, and a penny only, would, by removing the cause, remove the effect, and bring this large class of correspondence into the Post-office. The ATTORNEY-GENERAL (Sir John Campbell) represented in very strong terms the sentiments of his constituents in Edinburgh, in favour of an uniform penny postage, and that the feeling there was not limited to political party, but was general and intense. Mr. MARK PHILIPS then stated several important facts relative to the extent of the evasion forced upon the commercial and trading interests of Manchester and Liverpool, showing the impossibility of preserving the correspondence of the country to the Post-office, unless this plan was adopted. Mr. O'CONNELL, from a distant part of the room, which was densely crowded, mounted a table and said: "One word for old Ireland, my lord! My poor countrymen do not smuggle, for the high postage works a total prohibition to them. They are too poor to find out secondary conveyances, and if you shut the Post-office to them, which you do now, you shut out warm hearts and generous affections from home, kindred and friends. Consider, my lord, that a letter to Ireland, and the answer back, would cost thousands upon thousands of my poor and affectionate countrymen, considerably more than a fifth of their week's wages; and let any gentleman here ask himself what would be the influence upon his correspondence, if, for every letter he wrote, he or his family had to pay one-fifth of a week's income." Mr. HUME then produced some statistical details, confirming Mr. Warburton's conclusions. Mr. MOFFATT, the treasurer of the London Mercantile Committee, said that if government felt any doubt about the ultimate safety of the revenue, and had no scruples in farming it out, there would be no difficulty in London, in finding a body of high mercantile character to carry out the plan proposed, with the same security to the public for safe conveyance, and not

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Sir John  
Campbell  
and Scot-  
land.

Mr. Mark  
Philips and  
Manchester  
and Liver-  
pool.

Mr. O'Con-  
nell and  
Ireland.

Mr. Hume.

Mr. Moffatt's  
challenge.



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Lord Mel-  
bourne's  
reply.

to exceed the charge proposed of one penny ; and also to secure to the government the full amount of revenue which is now derived from the Post-office department. Lord MELBOURNE said that the able manner in which the subject had been brought under the attention of her Majesty's government by Mr. Warburton, would secure for it the most serious attention, if its own importance did not. It was one of great moment in a commercial, literary, and social view, and he could not but feel for those interests which had so ably been brought into view, by the gentlemen who had spoken, and particularly for those which had been so feelingly expressed by the honourable member for Dublin. It would be obvious to all present—indeed they had shown it was present to their minds—that the revenue must, for the safety of all, be provided for and made safe ; and that was a consideration, he might say, nearly as much to be borne in mind by the gentlemen of the House of Commons, so many of whom were now present, as of her Majesty's government. Of course, the deputation would not expect him to express any opinion on this occasion ; but they might rely upon the subject receiving that attention, its importance and the many interests connected with it demanded. The government had already discussed it—they had come to no adverse conclusions—they would further consider it, and could not fail to give a very careful consideration to the statements which had been made at that interview. The deputation then retired. A strong feeling evidently pervaded the room in reference to Mr. Warburton's allusion to the just expectation of the public :—"It would be a concession so wise, that it would be well calculated to make any Government justly popular, *and he would strongly urge it as a measure which a Liberal party had a just right to expect from a Liberal administration.*" He was then loudly cheered.

The "Morning Chronicle" of the day (now no longer existing), which was edited by Mr. Black, gave the report. Being present at the meeting, I have revised it. On the evening of that day, I dined with the Political Economy Club, when Mr. MacCulloch attacked the plan *in toto*. He was answered by Mr. S. J. Loyd (Lord Overstone), with force and logic, and I raised a laugh by asking Mr.

Political  
Economy  
Club  
dinner.

MacCulloch why, holding the opinions he now expressed, he had signed a petition in favour of the plan, before he had been appointed Controller of the Stationery Office?

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XX. For the next few weeks, there was great anxiety about the course which the Government would adopt. On 26th May, 1839, I made the acquaintance of Richard Cobden, and stayed at his house in Quay Street, Manchester (see *postea* and Vol. II.). It was afterwards occupied by Owens' College, which carried on its work there, until it removed to Mr. Waterhouse's New Buildings in the Oxford Road. The object of my visit was to enlist the sympathy of Manchester by obtaining subscriptions; and in three hours Cobden collected £105, which were paid, and more was promised. I then went to Liverpool, with introductions to Mr. W. Brown, Mr. Ramsden, &c., who engaged to send £150 to London. It had been resolved to hold a public meeting to support ministers in bringing forward the uniform Penny Postage. Placards were issued summoning a meeting at the Mansion House. But Mr. Moffatt, holding doubts of the intention of the Government to introduce a bill before the session was over, took upon himself the responsibility of publicly stopping the meeting, because of the uncertain course of the Government.<sup>1</sup> On my return to town, I found the meeting at the Mansion House postponed. The effect of Mr. Moffatt's sagacity and courage, induced Lord John Russell on 31st May, to announce in the House of Commons

Richard  
Cobden.

City meeting  
postponed.

<sup>1</sup> "Reduction of Postage. Meeting postponed.

"Jerusalem Coffee House,  
"29th May, 1839.

"A communication has been made to the Mercantile Committee on Postage, that Her Majesty's Government intended to adopt a Uniform Penny Postage, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer having merely announced 'That in the course of a Fortnight

he hoped to have it in his power to propose a Resolution upon the subject of the Postage of Letters, founded upon the Report of the Committee which sat last year,' the Mercantile Committee beg to inform the Public, that the Meeting of Merchants, Bankers, &c., intended to have been held at the *Egyptian Hall*, on *Friday, 31st inst.*, is postponed until the measure is laid before Parliament."



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that the Government would adopt the uniform Penny Postage. I insert Rowland Hill's summary of what was going on. He says :—

"To return to my narrative ; a few days later, Mr. Warburton having in the House asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, whether Government intended to proceed with a two-penny or penny rate, Lord John Russell replied that the intention of Government was to propose a *resolution* in favour of a uniform Penny Postage. Earl Russell states in his 'Recollections,' &c., that 'the Cabinet was unanimous in the decision' (vide p. 231), remarking, 'the plan will be in conformity with that which has been proposed by the committee as likely to be the most beneficial one,' and adding, that, though the scheme would necessarily involve many months of preparation, no time should be lost. (This passage is entirely omitted in 'Hansard,' but is recorded partly in the 'Post Circular,' No. 14, p. 59; and partly in the 'Mirror of Parliament,' vol. xxxviii., p. 2578.—Ed.) Having been apprised of Mr. Warburton's intention, I was present when the announcement was made ; and I leave the reader to imagine the deep gratification I felt."—"Life of Sir R. Hill," p. 344-5.

Mr. Warburton away fishing.

XXI. Mr. Moffatt and others thought that a mere *resolution* which might be rescinded by another resolution was insufficient, and that nothing less than an Act of Parliament would do. Whilst the certain adoption of Rowland Hill's plan appeared to be in such jeopardy, Mr. Warburton, who was a zealous fisherman, had left London for his favourite pastime ; and I went up the Thames to search for him. Mr. Joseph Parkes had set about a rumour that Lord Melbourne had sent for him several times ; and I started for Maidenhead, where I heard at the Orkney Arms that Mr. Warburton had left : so I sent letters by post that night to all the fishing stations about, urging his immediate return to town. Mr. Moffatt's decision, in my opinion, greatly helped to secure the adoption of the Uniform Penny Postage at that time.



XXII. The Mercantile Committee directed me to call upon Lord Radnor with petitions, and I did so on the 25th June, and he agreed that he would ask Lord Melbourne that evening to say positively if the Government would introduce a Bill or not. He did so, and received a satisfactory answer, which gratified the Mercantile Committee, and on 5th July, 1839, the Chancellor of the Exchequer in bringing forward his budget, promised to introduce a Bill for the Penny Postage, if the House would pledge itself to make good any deficiency in the revenue. Sir Robert Peel declined to give any such pledge. In reference to the popular demand for the measure, he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) made the following remarkable declaration :—

“ I find that the mass of them [the petitions] present the most extraordinary combination I ever saw of representations to one purpose from all classes, unswayed by any political motives whatever ; from persons of all shades of opinion, political and religious ; from clergymen of the Established Church, and from all classes of Protestant Dissenters ; from the clergymen of Scotland, from the commercial and trading communities in all parts of the Kingdom.” —“ Life of Sir R. Hill,” p. 349.

XXIII. On the 10th July, a public meeting was held at the Mansion House, organized by Mr. Moffatt, and it passed off brilliantly. In the course of the next day, a petition from the City was prepared, and received upwards of 12,500 signatures in a few hours. I took it to Mr. Alderman Wood, who with his colleagues, Messrs. Pattison, Crawford, and Grote, presented it on the 12th, when Mr. Goulburn brought forward resolutions against the Bill, which were rejected by a majority of a hundred. Sir Robert Peel then moved an amendment to omit the pledge, and that was rejected by a majority of sixty. The Bill being now safe in the Commons, it was my duty to visit Peers and endeavour to influence them in its favour. On 23rd July, 1839, says Sir Rowland

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Mr. Goulburn and Sir R. Peel defeated.

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City peti-  
tion to the  
Lords.

Interviews  
with Peers.

Duke of  
Richmond.

Lord Ash-  
burton.

Lord Lynd-  
hurst.

Hill, "the public anxiety relative to the House of Lords, showed itself in a petition signed by the Mayor and upwards of twelve thousand five hundred of the merchants of the City of London, which the noble Lord who presented the petition, understood had been signed in twelve hours, praying that no temporary deficiency of revenue might delay the establishment of penny postage" ("Hansard," vol. xlix., p. 687). This was a duplicate of the petition presented to the Commons on the 12th July.

XXIV. At this very critical period, whilst the Bill was in the Lords, I had interviews with many peers. The large majorities in the Commons against Mr. Goulburn's and Sir Robert Peel's resolutions, had their effect. The Duke of Richmond, who had been Postmaster-General, appointed to see me, and on 13th July I called upon him in Portland Place. He cordially agreed to present and support the London Petition. He was quite friendly to the measure, and apprehended the Lords' opposition, only, as he said, "if Ministers *were unable to explain the details.*" He added, "I will quiz the Lords out of franking, by allowing them fifteen pence a day instead." On the 17th I saw Lord Ashburton, who expressed to me his opinion, "that it was undesirable that the public feeling should cool without settling the matter." I called on several Lords on 18th July. A deputation consisting of Messrs. Grote, M.P., Moffatt, Gledstones, Lestock Wilson, and myself, waited upon Lord Ashburton, who told us that "he thought the Lords would not throw out the Bill." Lord Lyndhurst received us, and almost before the subject was introduced, said, "The Lords will pass your Bill! They have nothing to do with revenue, that is for the Commons; the pledge is an absurdity." We went next to Lord Ripon, who expressed himself decidedly for the Penny Post, and not a twopenny rate. He was adverse to any tax on Postage.



XXV. The subject came on in the House of Lords, 5th August, and I was present on the Throne with Rowland Hill and others. Lord Melbourne urged the adoption of the measure, because "of the very general feeling and general concurrence of all parties in favour of the measure." The Duke of Wellington began by denouncing the weakness of the ministry. He objected to the measure on the score of depression in the finances, but fully recognized the evils of high postage rates. Rowland Hill and myself felt alarmed, and my heart beat quickly, but we were relieved when he said, "what was called Mr. Rowland Hill's plan was, *if it was adopted exactly as proposed*" (this said with emphasis) "of all plans most likely to be successful." He ended by saying, "I throw the responsibility on the ministers, and I shall, although with great reluctance, vote for the bill, but *I earnestly recommend* your lordships to *do likewise*." And so the Act was passed (2 and 3 Vic. c. 52), and the Queen cheerfully volunteered to resign the privilege of franking, and pay postage like all her subjects. Richard Cobden upon hearing the news exclaimed, "There go the Corn Laws!" feeling that new flood-gates of knowledge were thereby opened. He soon afterwards wished to enlist my services for the Anti-Corn Law League.

XXVI. The agitation for the repeal of the Corn Laws had begun in the early part of 1839, and the "Anti-Corn Law Circular,"<sup>1</sup> following the example of the "Post Circular," was started. On the 18th February, 1840, a deputation consisting of Mr. Paulton, the lecturer of the Anti-Corn Law

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Bill passed  
the Lords.

The Queen  
and frank-  
ing.

There go  
the Corn  
Laws.

<sup>1</sup> When the Corn Laws were repealed, the Circular was edited by Mr. James Wilson, who afterwards entered Parliament, became Financial Secretary to the Treasury, then Minister of Finance in the Indian Council, and went to India, and died there. The Cir-

cular itself was turned by him into the "Economist," became a valuable property, and was edited by his son-in-law Mr. Walter Bagehot, till his death. It is now conducted by Mr. Inglis Palgrave, son of Sir Francis before mentioned.



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Law Agi-  
tation.

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League, and others, waited upon me and brought a letter from Mr. Francis Place, a noted Radical politician in Westminster, and once I believe, a supporter of Sir Francis Burdett. Mr. Place begged me to undertake the Secretaryship of the Anti-Corn Law Agitation. They came to me at 24, Notting Hill Square, where I was living at that time, having an open view of the race-course called the Hippodrome, within two miles of the old Tyburn Gallows.<sup>1</sup> On 24th February, Mr. Cobden himself, and Mr. John Smith, chairman of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, called upon me at the Record Office in Whitehall Yard, to urge me to take the office of Secretary, and join in the agitation against the Corn Laws. I strongly sympathized with the movement, on the grounds which Cobden stated to Mr. George Combe (see Morley's "Life of Cobden"), but both public and private reasons compelled me to decline the offer. I promised, however, to assist the Circular, and induced Thackeray to design various illustrations which are revived in the second volume to remind his admirers of his first attempts.

XXVII. Immediately after the Act was passed on the 17th August, 1839, the Treasury having acquired full powers, issued on the 23rd August, a minute by which "My Lords assumed—

"A power of carrying into effect the reduced and uniform rate of postage contemplated by Parliament, either according to the present mode of collecting the postage, or by pre-payment, collected by means of stamps, compulsory or optional.

"In comparing the advantages which may arise from the plan of pre-payment, by means of stamps, if such plan should be adopted, much must depend upon the stamp which may be employed. For the convenience of the public, it is of the greatest importance that the mode selected should afford every facility for obtaining and using the stamp. It is also clear that the charge

<sup>1</sup> See Timbs' "Curiosities of London," p. 744.

which will fall upon the public, in the shape of extra payment, on account of the stamp itself, in addition to the penny rate, must vary according to the nature of the stamp adopted.

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"In the course of the inquiries and discussions on the subject, several plans were suggested, viz., stamped covers, stamped paper, and stamps to be used separately, and to be applied to any letter, of whatever description, and written on any paper.

"Before my Lords can decide upon the adoption of any course, either by stamp or otherwise, they feel it will be useful that artists, men of science, and the public in general, may have an opportunity of offering any suggestions or proposals as to the manner in which the stamp may best be brought into use. With this view, my Lords will be prepared to receive and consider any proposal which may be sent in to them on or before the 15th day of October, 1839.

"All persons desirous of communicating with my Lords on the subject, are requested to direct to the Lords of the Treasury, Whitehall, marked 'Post-office Stamp.'

"My Lords will be prepared to award a premium of £200 to such proposal as they may consider the most deserving of attention, and £100 to the next best proposal.

Premiums  
offered by  
Treasury.

"My Lords will feel at liberty to adopt, for the public service, any of the suggestions which may be contained in any communications made to them, except, of course, where parties have any right secured by patent.

"The points which this Board consider of the greatest importance, are—

"1. The convenience, as regards the public use.

"2. The security from forgery.

"3. The facility of being checked and distinguished in the examination at the Post-office, which must of necessity be rapid.

"4. The expense of the production and circulation of the stamps."

XXVIII. According to the Treasury invitation I sent, 8th Oct., an essay on the four points emphasized by the Treasury, as most important. I mention the date, because I did not enter on my service at the Treasury to assist Mr. Hill, until 13th October, although Mr. F. Baring, who had succeeded



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Mr. Spring-Rice (created Lord Monteagle) as Chancellor of the Exchequer, had consented to Mr. Hill's proposal to engage me on the 20th September. Lord Langdale kindly gave me leave to go to the Treasury in the afternoon, after my work on the Records in Whitehall Yard was over.

Essay on  
Postage  
Stamps.

XXIX. In my essay (see Vol. II., Part II., p. 118) I entered fully upon the general question of forgery, and suggested adhesive stamps and stamped covers. Many improvements in the last forty years, have taken place in printing, and the manufacture of paper. The Excise restrictions have been removed, and freedom of action has enabled improvements to be introduced. In 1839, the means of producing a large sheet of paper with numerous water-marks upon it, was but imperfectly realized as a practical manufacture. Now "The Times" produces a roll of paper seven miles long, which can be cut into ten thousand sheets four feet by three feet, every sheet having a water-mark of the name of the mills, Taverham, Wrigley and Sons, McMurray, and others, showing where the paper is made. Messrs. Perkins and Bacon had perfected a process of reproducing engravings, which they applied to the manufacture of bank-notes. They used a hardened steel matrix which was capable of reproducing identical engravings without limit, and this process was applied to the production of the adhesive postage stamps, in the form of the Queen's head. The account given by Sir Rowland Hill, of the application of Perkins' clever process for producing identical engravings, is as follows:—

Perkins'  
stamps.

"The Queen's head was first engraved by hand on a single matrix; the effigy being encompassed with lines too fine for any hand, or even any but the most delicate machinery to engrave. The matrix being subsequently hardened, was employed to produce impressions on a soft steel roller of sufficient circumference to receive twelve; and this being hardened in turn, was used under very heavy pressure to produce and repeat its counterpart on a steel



plate, to such extent that this, when used in printing, produced at each impression two hundred and forty stamps; all this being of course done, as machinists will at once perceive, according to the process invented by the late Mr. Perkins.

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"In this manner there were produced in the first fifteen years, more than three thousand millions of stamps; all, as being derived from the same matrix, of course absolutely uniform. At the end of that time, it was thought desirable to create a second matrix, but as this was obtained by transfer from the first—save that the lines were deepened by hand—the deviation from identity was at most very slight. With plates procured from this, the process however being somewhat modified, there had been printed, up to July, 1867, more than seven thousand millions of stamps; thus making up a total of considerably more than ten thousand millions, in all of which the impression is, for all practical purposes, absolutely uniform." (R. Hill's Life, Vol. I., p. 407.)

XXX. At the present time this process has been superseded by one invented by Messrs. De la Rue, who came prominently before the public with their envelope machine at the Exhibition of 1851. The Queen's head stamps are produced not by engraving *en creux*, but by typography and surface printing. These stamps have several advantages over those first invented. They are more easily fixed to letters. The cancellation of them is more sure, because they are printed with vegetable inks; and they are more economical, to the extent, it is said, of £10,000 a-year. It has seemed to me that I am justified in printing my treatise now for the first time, in this work, as giving the history of various technical processes applied in the production of an article now common in the civilized world. The treatise will serve as a prelude to every collection of postage stamps. Collections are now numerous throughout the world, and have an extravagant value according to their rarity.<sup>1</sup> Rowland Hill observes:—

De la Rue's  
stamps.

<sup>1</sup> I have preserved nearly all of the various stamps. It is my intention, when my daughter assisting me in this first experiments made with proofs of

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"With regard, however, to the competing plans for collecting the postage, though valuable suggestions were afforded by several, no one was deemed sufficient in itself. In the end there were selected from the whole number of competitors, four whose suggestions appeared to evince most ingenuity. The reward that had been offered was divided amongst them in equal shares, each receiving £100."

Successful  
competitors.

XXXI. Some 2,700 candidates sent papers to the Treasury, and the names of the successful competitors were as follows:—Mr. Cheverton, Mr. C. Whiting, myself, and, I believe, Messrs. Perkins, Bacon, and Co. Mr. Hill, on the 19th December, informed me of the Treasury minute awarding me one of the prizes.

XXXII. My duty at the Treasury was of a most miscellaneous character; consulting the Post Office officials, especially Mr. Bokenham, preparing forms of returns wanted by Mr. Hill,<sup>1</sup> inquiring into modes of conveying letters by public carriages, discussing daily with Rowland Hill points of difficulty, the production of the different kinds of stamps to be decided upon, &c.

XXXIII. But my principal work in fact, became the superintendence of the production of the three forms of stamps which it had been resolved to adopt; namely, an adhesive stamp to be attached to any letters; envelopes; and a stamp to be embossed upon paper of any kind sent to the Stamp Office. For the adhesive stamp, Perkins' process was employed. Mr. W. Wyon, R.A., was commissioned to produce a head of Her Majesty as a medallion, to be embossed on any paper, which is still in use. I was charged to obtain a design for the postage cover. I first consulted

work thinks fit, that this collection shall be given to the British Museum.

<sup>1</sup> Such as returns relating to—1. The SHIP Letters and Newspapers; 2. Number of MILES travelled by

Mails, distinguished from those on Railways; 3. PENNY POSTS created since 1839; 4. The number of letters registered; 5. Rates of Postage of Letters delivered in London, &c., &c.



Sir Martin Archer Shee, the President of the Royal Academy, who suggested that I should communicate with Sir Richard Westmacott, and Messrs. Cockerell, Howard, Eastlake, and Hilton, all Royal Academicians. After making these inquiries, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Francis Baring, wished me to see Mr. Mulready. On the 13th December, 1839, I made my first visit to Mr. Mulready, and began an acquaintance which lasted till his death in 1863.<sup>1</sup> He readily entered into the idea, and promised to make a trial. I called upon him on the Sunday following, when I found that he had produced the highly poetic design which was afterwards adopted, and Mr. John Thompson was commissioned to engrave it upon brass;—a most difficult and laborious work, which he did not complete till April, when the stamps produced from it were officially sanctioned. It will be observed that one of the flying angels is drawn without a second foot! Mulready, Mr. Thompson, and others, had been watching weekly the engraving of this design without discovering this defect, which the public instantly detected, and the omission was made the subject of a caricature, but corrected in the original drawing given to Mr. Thomas Baring, M.P., which he greatly appreciated.

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Mulready  
designs a  
Cover.

XXXIV. After forty years additional experience, I agree in the soundness of the public opinion expressed, that this fine design was quite unsuitable for its purpose. Sir Rowland Hill, vol. i., p. 393, says:—

“Of this design I may remark, that though it brought so much ridicule on the artist and his employers, yet it was regarded very favourably before issuing, by the Royal Academicians, to whom it was presented when they assembled in council.”

<sup>1</sup> His tomb, designed by Godfrey Sykes, is in Kensal Green Cemetery. The balance of the public subscriptions for it, is applied as a prize for

drawing the nude figure in Mulready's method, with black and red chalk, on straw-coloured paper, to be awarded by the Society of Arts.



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Mulready's  
Design.

The postage cover was for a dry commercial use, in which sentiment has no part. The merchant who wishes to pre-



This was engraved on brass, and took the artist four months to execute. Stereotype plates were then produced.

pay his letter, rejects anything that disturbs his attention. I now think that anything, even a mere meaningless ornamental design, would have been out of place. The baldest

simplicity only, was necessary. Had an allegorical fresco for any public building been required to symbolize the introduction of the universal penny postage, nothing could have been better than Mulready's design, and I still hope to see it perpetuated in some fine work of art where it would not be impertinent. Its enlargement would be a good exercise for the students of the National Art Training School.

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XXXVI. The preparation of the stamps delayed the introduction of them until May, 1840. Whilst engaged on postage work, I wrote an article on the introduction of the measure for the "Westminster Review" in 1840, from which I make the following extracts :—

Stamps first  
appeared in  
May, 1840.

"The most eligible mode of employing stamps for the purposes of the Post Office, has naturally formed the subject of much deliberation. The idea itself is by no means new. It is shown in M. Piron's recent pamphlet on the French Post Office, that the collection of postage by means of a stamp, was practised in Paris as early as 1653. A Mons. de Velaye obtained a *privilege du roi* to establish a private post. He placed boxes throughout Paris for the receipt of letters enclosed in certain stamped covers, which he sold for a *sou* a-piece. In our own times and country, the notion is claimed by several persons. Some years before Mr. Hill applied the stamp to his invention of a uniform postage, Mr. Charles Whiting printed a proposal to the Government to issue stamped bands, or, as he termed them, 'Go-frees,' which were intended to frank a certain weight of printed matter. Mr. Hill acknowledges that he owes to Mr. Charles Knight the suggestion of a postage stamp. Mr. Louis, the late Superintendent of the Mails, says<sup>1</sup> that the principle was proposed to the Post Office several years ago, by a Mr. Stead. From whatever source the suggestion may first have sprung, Mr. Hill, in his various applications of it to the present purpose, has made the idea his own; and it would seem that after the labour of reading the two thousand five hundred proposals sent to the Treasury, 'my Lords' obtained from them no other modes of applying the postage stamp than those suggested

"Westminster Review"  
article.

<sup>1</sup> Ev. 1829.



UNIFORM  
PENNY  
POSTAGE.  
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Part I.

Paper-  
makers' ob-  
jections.

by Mr. Hill himself, in a paper which he printed and circulated two months before the Treasury Minute was issued. In this paper Mr. Hill proposed the four kinds of stamps which the Treasury has directed to be prepared—stamped covers or half-sheets of paper, stamped envelopes, labels or adhesive stamps, and stamps struck on letter paper itself.

“Mr. Dickinson, a papermaker, who wished to introduce a peculiar sort of paper manufactured by himself, insisted upon the exclusive use of envelopes, in which sort of stamp it happened that the greatest quantity of his peculiar paper would be consumed. One of the dangers seen lurking in labels by Mr. Dickinson, was, that ‘the Postmaster, who would be required to paste on the stamp, might take the money and not affix the stamp.’ The answer to which is, that the Postmaster would not be required to paste on the stamp, and that the purchaser could either affix it himself, or see it done. Other like frivolities were started—‘that the stamp would not stick,’ ‘that it would be rubbed off,’ and the like. No little pains were taken to induce the public to array itself on one side or other of the hostile factions. The newspapers, especially the provincial papers, espoused respectively either labels or envelopes. After the Act was passed, at least half-a-dozen different penny editions were hawked about the streets, each with ‘Notes by a Barrister,’ advocating respectively the cause of Mr. Wiggins or Mr. Dickinson; no one seeing that the use of all sorts was desirable, or at least that the public should be allowed to determine, by its own choice and a fair trial, which deserved the preference.

“There has been no lack of misrepresentation and captious objection on the part of various narrow selfish interests, which dreaded disturbance from the introduction of this new mode of collecting the Post Office revenue; and we think the Government acted judiciously in making the first trial of a cheap prepaid postage without the stamps, the result of which has been, that the novelty which a large part of the public were disposed to reject as unnecessary, they are now eager for, and impatient of not obtaining sooner. The increased desire to correspond, under the encouragement of cheapness, has created in its turn, the wish and necessity to conduct correspondence with the least possible trouble.



"The Post Office, even more than the public, must feel severely the want of stamps. People now rush to pay postage as they rush to the pit of a theatre on a crowded night. During the last half hour at the principal offices, especially in Lombard Street, the force of the Post Office for taking in letters, is far overtaxed. A night or two after the change to a penny, we ourselves witnessed the scene at St. Martin's-le-Grand. The great hall was nearly filled with spectators, marshalled in a line by the police, to watch the crowds pressing, scuffling, and fighting to get first to the window. The superintending president of the Inland Office, with praiseworthy zeal, was in all quarters directing the energy of his officers where the pressure was greatest. Formerly one window sufficed to receive letters. On this evening six windows, with two receivers at each, were bombarded by applicants. As the last quarter of an hour approached, and the crowd still thickened, a seventh window was opened, and that none might be turned away, Mr. Bokenham made some other opening, and took in letters and money himself. To the credit of the Post Office, not a single person lost the time, and we learnt that on this evening upwards of 3,000 letters had been posted in St. Martin's-le-Grand between five and six. A witness present on the first night of the penny post, described to us a similar scene. When the window closed, the mob, delighted at the energy displayed by the officers, gave one cheer for the Post Office and another for Rowland Hill. We are glad to perceive that the Post Office, with which the responsibility of success or failure in the execution of the plan really lies, seems fully alive to its obligations.

"The pressure upon all the receiving houses, both in the metropolis and throughout the kingdom, has also been very great. One receiver in the metropolis told us that were the system to last, he would not retain his office for £200 a-year. He added, that on the first day the letter writers scared away all his customers, and that he positively sold nothing. On several days he has taken in nearly 2,000 paid letters, his former average being about seventy.

"The substitution of the principle of charging by weight, for the anomalous one by pieces of paper, has been attended with no difficulty at all to the Post Office establishment. The extent to which the public has availed itself of the new method, may be inferred from the frequent notices in the papers of the transmission

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Scenes at  
General Post  
Office when  
Penny Post  
began.

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of all sorts of things, shoes, gloves, silk, specimens of natural history, &c.

"The intermediate change to a fourpenny rate, made expressly to give the officers some practice in weighing before the great influx of letters came,—a measure which the factious misrepresented, and the ignorant impertinently pronounced to be unnecessary,—was fully justified by the circumstances which took place in London on the first night of the penny rate. Had the novelty of weighing been deferred to that time, and so coupled with a fourfold increase of letters, the whole establishment must almost inevitably have been thrown into disorder. As it was, not a single mail was dispatched one minute beyond its usual time.

"The prediction that uniformity of charge and rating by weight would much simplify the Post Office operations, is acknowledged to be completely realized. It is already shown that the same, or nearly the same, strength of establishment is able, on the new principle, to execute between a twofold and threefold amount of business."

I also wrote a short history of the Post Office for the "Penny Cyclopædia," which it is sufficient to allude to.

XXXV. My engagement at the Treasury lasted until 8th January, 1842. Mr. Trevelyan, the Assistant-Secretary of the Treasury (now Sir Charles Trevelyan, Bart.), informed me on 11th November, 1841, that Mr. Goulburn, who had become Chancellor of the Exchequer in Sir Robert Peel's ministry, desired the engagement to terminate the *next day*. Upon my remonstrating that such suddenness had somewhat the flavour of a stigma with it, it was agreed that I should resign my appointment at the end of the quarter.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "November 11th, 1841.—Mr. Trevelyan told me that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had decided with regard to Cole (he leaves on January 10th, at the end of his quarter). January 8th, 1842.—Cole leaves me to-day. The progress of the Penny Postage both before and after its adoption by Government, has been

greatly promoted by his zeal and activity."—*Life of Sir R. Hill*, p. 447.

In the "Life of Rowland Hill" is quoted (vol. i., p. 361) an extract from Miss Martineau's "Autobiography" (vol. i., p. 410), which I repeat:—

"Mr. Rowland Hill was then pondering his scheme, and ascertaining the facts which he was to present with

The four-  
penny rate.



XXXVI. Sir Robert Peel succeeded Lord Melbourne as Prime Minister, in the autumn of 1841. Rowland Hill and myself hoped that Lord Lowther would become Postmaster-General, having supported Uniform Postage, and I suggested the appointment whilst the new ministry was in course of formation, but it was objected that he was not a Peer. I returned to the subject, and said, "Make him one."<sup>1</sup> And he was raised to the House of Lords and made Postmaster-General, but he did not fulfil the expectations which he had raised out of office as a Post Office Reformer.

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PENNY  
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XXXVII. I conclude this chapter with a happy announcement. The hope which I expressed that a PARCEL POST would be introduced, is about to be realised shortly. Mr. Fawcett on 27th March, 1882, stated in the House of Commons that the Treasury had sanctioned a Parcels Post, by means of which any parcel not exceeding seven pounds weight might be sent throughout the United Kingdom for one shilling, and throughout Europe at a somewhat higher charge. It may be predicted as the system succeeds that the weight will be increased. In Germany, &c., a traveller may forward his portmanteau! Cannot the Saxon in England be as well off as the Saxon in Germany?

so remarkable an accuracy. His manner in those days—his slowness and hesitating speech—were not commendatory of his doctrine to those who would not trouble themselves to discern its excellence and urgent need. If he had been prepossessing in manner and fluent and lively in speech, it might have saved him half his difficulties, and the nation some delay; but he was so accurate, so earnest, so irrefragable in his facts, so wise and benevolent in his intentions, and so well-timed with his scheme, that success was, in my opinion, certain from the beginning; and so I used to tell some conceited and shallow members

and adherents of the Whig Government, whose flippancy, haughtiness, and ignorance about a matter of such transcendent importance, tried my temper exceedingly. Rowland Hill might and did bear it; but I own I could not always. Even Sydney Smith was so unlike himself on this occasion as to talk and write of 'His nonsense of a Penny Postage.' . . . Lord Montague with entire complacency, used to smile it down at evening parties, and lift his eyebrows at the credulity of the world which would suppose that a scheme so wild could ever be tried."

<sup>1</sup> See "Morning Chronicle," 1st September, 1841.





## WORK WITH RAILWAYS AND DOCKS.

### PART I.

1845-1849.

#### I.

RAILWAYS  
AND DOCKS.  
A.D.  
1845-1849.  
Part I.



**D**URING the years 1845<sup>1</sup> to 1848 inclusive, I was engaged in the consideration of some questions respecting Railways and Docks, having a national importance. My leisure from the Public Records, as well as my evenings, were often employed in

Railway  
mania.

Bishop of  
Exeter's  
warning.

<sup>1</sup> In this year, 1845, England was visited with one of its periodical epidemics of commercial folly, the Railway Mania as it was called, which rivalled in intensity the South Sea Bubble of 1720. Peers, peeresses, commoners, merchants, tradesmen, domestic servants, operatives, were all involved in the madness, and the ruin entailed by it. They were humorously related by Thackeray's Jeames Yellowplush's correspondence in "Punch." An idol of Mammon was raised in the person of a linen-draper of York, and the whole nation bowed down before the footstool of King Hudson, "who receives the grandees of this country at his levees or soirees and couchees;" which much excited the wrath of Carlyle in his "Latter-day Pamphlets:" £25,000

were raised as a testimonial to this "Ideal of the Scrip Ages." The "Times" of 15th Sept., 1845, in its money article, recorded how that 707 new companies had subscribed promises to pay, amounting to £464,698,000 (more than the National Debt), to make railways all over the country. Henry Philpotts, Bishop of Exeter, warned the clergy against this mania in an episcopal letter: and I was prompted to combine many of the absurdities which the tempting prospectuses of bubble railways put forth, and composed a prospectus which was inserted as an advertisement, of a projected railway in the "Railway Chronicle" of 11th Oct., 1845. It was entitled "The Great National Direct Independent Lands' End and John O'Groats-At-

examining and exploring, and thus collecting information of public buildings having an archæological and picturesque character. I was thus led to travel constantly on the railways terminating in London, and I spent many months during two years in doing so. I embodied the results of my work in a series of Railway Charts (see Illustrations in Vol. II.) which were chiefly illustrated by Mr. David Cox, junior, Mr. C. C. Pyne, son of one of the founders of the Old Water-Colour Society (who published "Wine and Walnuts," and other works), and by Mr. Frazer Redgrave, who became a principal clerk in the Office of Woods. During this work, some deficiencies in railway management impressed themselves upon my attention. The intermixture of passenger and goods traffic, and the inevitable delays occasioned by it, were palpable, and I was impelled to submit suggestions for removing them.

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Railway  
Charts.

I published a letter in November, 1846, addressed to Mr. Robert Stephenson, the engineer of the L. and N. W. Railway, on the expediency of having quadruple rails, so as to separate the passenger and goods traffic.

"The idea of laying quadruple rails on the London and North-Western, is not now brought forward as an absolute novelty. It is one which has been floating about and gradually maturing itself for some months at least, and several good authorities on railway subjects, agree that to lay down four rails would be a wise measure, and that the present circumstances of this particular railway would fully warrant its adoption. . . . The object of having two sets of rails obviously would be to employ one for QUICK, and the other for SLOW traffic, keeping each in its use and management separate.

Quadruple  
rails advoc-  
ated.

"The *quick* traffic would be for passengers and light parcels carried long distances; the *slow* for goods and certain passengers—

Passengers  
and goods.

mospheric Railway, with Steam Ferries to the Scilly and Orkney Isles, and Coasting Docks at both Ter-

mini. Provisionally registered Capital, £9,500,000; in 95,000 shares of £100 each." It was received as serious!



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Part I.

Increased  
security.

passengers to whom time is of little value, and passengers travelling very short distances. In the management of goods and passenger traffic, there is a practical antagonism. Goods traffic makes passenger traffic slower than it need be; whilst passenger traffic necessitates that of goods to be far quicker than is expedient or economical. Such a division of the two as now proposed, would introduce great economy in the working of the railway—enable the fares for passengers by the slow trains to be scarcely higher than those for the transit of goods—greatly increase the number and even the speed of the quick trains, and promote general security.

“First, as to *Security*.—This, though greater on railways than walking itself, or any other known mode of locomotion, might be said, without disparagement to its present amount, to be capable of being still further enhanced. The most fruitful source of danger is collision of trains; and the great proportion of accidents arise from the collisions of goods and passenger trains—the cause sometimes arising from the tardiness of the first and the speed of the latter, and sometimes from obstructions on the line occasioned by neglect of management of goods trucks. Examples are of frequent occurrence. The accidents which happened on the 31st of October, 1846, between Stafford and Chelford may be mentioned as recent illustrations. On this occasion there was a continuous series of accidents. The first was occasioned by a luggage train running into a ballast train, causing a stoppage of the traffic. Two down passenger trains were forced to return to Stafford and wait. After two hours they started again; and about ten miles further on were arrested by another luggage train which had got off the line. A second detention of two hours and a half had now to be suffered, during which six trains (four down and two up) were prevented from proceeding. The two down trains were joined at Crewe, and arrived at Chelford nearly five hours behind the proper time. While stopping at this station, the train was run into by a down luggage train.

“It is notorious that nothing less than the great vigilance and skill employed in conducting the traffic of the London and North-Western, prevents the continual collision of goods and passenger trains—so numerous and frequent are the trains. The mechanical difficulties and actual cost incurred in preventing collision, are almost inconceivable. . . .



"To separate, therefore, the quick passenger from the slow goods traffic, and maintain each on its separate rails, would be most desirable on the ground of security.

"Indeed, it may be doubted whether there could be much increase of the present goods traffic with safety, until this separation is made. At the present time, during the daytime, it is said that passenger and goods trains start on the average every twenty minutes; and this short interval between the starting of two trains on *so long a line* is, perhaps, the minimum that is safe. It may be safe and practicable on the Liverpool and Manchester, where the distance is little more than a fourth of that between London and Birmingham, to start trains every ten minutes, but so short an interval would be dangerous on a line of 112 miles. An incidental advantage from the division of the traffic, would be that night traffic, excessively harassing and inexpedient, might be altogether dispensed with for the slow or goods train.<sup>1</sup>

"The tendency of the goods traffic is greatly to increase. Ordinary influences will cause it to do so, especially in connexion with the wise step of the London and North-Western in becoming its own carriers of goods. This will prove an economical boon to the public, which they will not be slow to appreciate; and it may reasonably be expected that there will be an enormous and progressive increase of goods traffic. The natural tendency of this increase is to *lessen the speed* of the passenger trains; so that while the public is calling out for the uniform or narrow gauge companies to make manifest their boast that the narrow can travel as fast as the broad gauge, circumstances to prevent their doing so are daily increasing. A division in the working of passenger and goods trains by means of four lines, would therefore enable a much greater speed to be attained by the quick or passenger trains, whilst a diminished and less costly rate of speed would govern the slow or goods trains. Express passenger trains might then be increased to any number which the public required, and the company found it profitable to employ. The difficulties of having two expresses to make the journey between London and Liverpool<sup>2</sup> in less than

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Part I.

Railways  
their own  
carriers.

<sup>1</sup> Some express trains now start at only ten minutes apart.

<sup>2</sup> There are now many trains a day which perform the journey in five

hours, and five hours fifteen minutes to Liverpool, and to Manchester in four hours and forty minutes.

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five hours, to and fro, twice a day, would be entirely removed. The merchant would be in town by noon, and back at Liverpool by midnight, with an allowance of six hours in the metropolis; and it would, I contend, then fairly be seen how little the width of gauge really has to do with great speed. In the question of speed, in which at present the Great Western is so triumphant, the public make no allowance for the greater difficulties arising on a line on which there is a large goods traffic, as compared with a line on which that traffic is comparatively much less. In round numbers it may be estimated that the goods traffic of the Great Western, is to the passenger traffic as  $4\frac{1}{2}$  to 15, while that of the London and North-Western, is as 23 to 28. The public advantages of quadruple rails would therefore be as great in respect of increased SPEED, as of increased SECURITY.

Low fares  
at low speed.

"But great indeed as these would be, they are insignificant compared with the new feature which might be introduced of REDUCED FARES, AT A LOW SPEED—*i.e.*, the ordinary Continental speed, and the increased accommodation in the NUMBER OF TRAINS which would follow on the adoption of the measure. Increased speed and safety are but refinements on the already existing system, but the introduction of slow trains would superinduce economy of charges and a facility of travel almost illimitable.

Passengers  
by all trains.

"To look plainly at the arrangements which would ensue from laying down four lines of rails, they may be stated to be these:—With every slow or goods train *passengers would be taken*. Large trucks, holding as many people as you please, and on six or more wheels, might be employed. Of course any hasty *ex cathedra* regulations of the late Railway Board of Trade against the union of goods and passengers in one train, must be abolished. The greater part, or perhaps all, of the short traffic at either terminus, might perhaps be wholly conducted with the goods trains. Stations might be greatly increased in number—might, indeed, be located wherever it would be profitable to do so through the line. In fact, the object would be to induce in all cases even the very poorest person to be carried by railway, rather than to walk.

"If coals, which require shifting in and out of the truck, can be taken at a penny per mile per ton, at 15 miles per hour, it seems no idle dream to say that a passenger in a fourth class carriage,



who troubles no one to put him in and out, might profitably be taken at the same rate, say 15 miles per hour, at a farthing a mile. The fishwomen of Billingsgate use the penny steamers on the Thames, as being cheaper than walking; and so even the Buckinghamshire labourer might find it most profitable to ride by the peasants' train.

"A new species of passenger traffic would altogether be created—not interfering at all with that which at present exists; and therein lies the virtue of the plan of quadruple rails. It does away with the real objections to the adoption of such low fares as we are talking of, in third and fourth class carriages on existing lines, which are briefly these:—That if you attach third class carriages at very low fares to your ordinary passenger trains, the majority of your passengers desert the first and second class carriages, however well able they may be to pay for the superior comfort of such carriages, and however reasonable the fares for first and second class carriages may be; so that you cannot offer accommodation to the poor without the rich seizing on it, and the revenue of the railway company immediately suffering to that extent: thus the arrangement is rendered totally inadmissible.<sup>1</sup>

"That this is so, experience has now established on British lines; the case of the Glasgow and Greenock (see Mr. Harding's evidence before the Select Committee on Railways, 1844), on which the lowest scale of fares which has yet been tried in this country, prevailed, is the best example we know. The recent instance of the South-Western is also another case in point.

"The attainment, therefore, of extremely low fares by attaching third and fourth class carriages to the ordinary passenger trains on existing railways, is impracticable.

"The goods trains, again, on existing lines, so frequently run at night, are so heavy, being often as much as the engine can draw, and are so irregular in their time, from the constant stopping and shunting necessary, when they run in the daytime, in order to keep out of the way of passenger trains, as not to afford

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Part I.

First,  
second,  
and third  
class pas-  
sengers.

Glasgow and  
Greenock  
Railway.

<sup>1</sup> This is now proved on all railways which have three classes of passengers. The receipts for third class had increased from £7,000,000 in 1869 to £15,000,000 in 1880. In

eleven years the travelling expenses of the poorer classes had increased by something like 115 per cent. (*Mr. Chamberlain in House of Commons.*)



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the means of offering the poorer classes the advantages of the Continental railway system.

"The plan of having four lines of rail obviates both these objections; for the principle on which this plan rests, is—that LOW FARES, FREQUENT STOPPAGES and A COMPARATIVELY LOW AVERAGE RATE OF SPEED should go together; and that heavy traffic, under these conditions, should occupy two out of the four lines of rails;—whilst passenger and express trains, and mails and parcel traffic, travelling at the highest speed practically attainable, should occupy the other two lines of railway.

"It is only by keeping these different conditions together, that the maximum of convenience can be attained, and it is only by the plan of quadruple rails, that these conditions can be kept together.

Low fares at  
low speeds.

"I contend, that all experience at home and abroad, shows, that extremely low fares (ranging say from  $\frac{1}{4}d.$  to  $1d.$  per mile), at low speeds, as on the Continent (from 10 to 20 miles per hour), will bring out a countless number of travellers of the most numerous class of society, who do not, at present, at all enter into returns of railway travelling; while speed and punctuality, as in England, will vastly increase the number of those who are able to pay, and ought to pay, the higher range of fares (say from  $1d.$  to  $3d.$  per mile), for travelling at the higher rates of speed which may now be regarded as ranging from 30 to 60 miles per hour. The value of time in travel would also be fairly estimated; and the poorer classes, whose name is legion, would flock in thousands to travel 15 miles an hour for fourpence.

Cheapness  
induces con-  
sumption.

"Abundant examples might be produced to show that it is cheapness rather than quality, which chiefly induces consumption. The railway between Glasgow and Paisley, has superseded the canal traffic. The railway minimum charge is sixpence, whilst the canal used to be twopence: and though the time of the journey has been reduced from an hour on the canal, to fifteen minutes by the rail, the number of passengers has actually *decreased by one-half*.

"The financial part of the experiment may, I think, be regarded as safe. It is certain that the revenue would be largely increased; and, although some increase in the working expenses would necessarily accompany the increased use of the railway, I

submit for your better judgment, that in one important branch of expenditure at least, great economy would result from the plan of having four lines of rails. As a separate item, the working of the goods traffic would be economized, for it is quite indisputable that the present cost of working the goods traffic is much greater than it need be. Every minute that a goods engine is blowing off its steam at a siding, waiting to allow a passenger train to pass by, is sheer waste. Every mile per hour that a goods train travels swifter than is absolutely necessary, is again wasteful."

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1845-1849.  
Part I.  
Economy in  
working.

I have lived to see this separation extensively and admirably carried into effect, especially on several parts of the London and North Western Railway, but much more remains to be done.

Quadruple  
rails.

II. Soon after 1846, commissions were offered me from the London and North Western, and Manchester and Sheffield Railways, to undertake two works of national importance—namely, the PROMOTION OF UNIFORMITY OF GAUGE, and the ESTABLISHMENT OF DOCKS AT GRIMSBY, in connection with the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire system of railways.

Uniformity  
of Gauge.  
Docks at  
Grimsby.

III. The battle of the Gauges was long and costly, and it raged both in and outside Parliament. According to the wholesome practice of this country, the battle was decided not by the Government, but by the public and by railway and commercial interests, which affirmed the necessity of having ONE UNIFORM GAUGE for the Railways within England and Scotland. What was known as the *Narrow Gauge* system, had been adopted by the London and North Western Railway Company and its allies, which in 1845 had extended it from the metropolis to Edinburgh.

Battle of  
the Gauges.

Uniform  
gauges.

IV. At that time there were three gauges, one of four feet eight inches wide, called the *Narrow Gauge*, and another of seven feet, called the *Broad*—whilst there was a third of five feet<sup>1</sup> begun on the Eastern Counties, but

Three  
gauges.

<sup>1</sup> It is still general throughout Ireland.



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AND DOCKS.  
A. D.  
1845-1849.  
Part I.

soon altered to the four feet eight gauge. The narrow gauge had been introduced on the first passenger railway between Manchester and Liverpool, opened in 1830,<sup>1</sup> when Mr. Huskisson, the President of the Board of Trade, was killed on the 15th September of that year. It gradually extended to London, and formed a system of lines now known as the London, and North Western system, in connection with the railways in Lancashire and Yorkshire. The Stephensons, George and Robert, father and son, and Joseph Locke, were the leading engineers who adopted the narrow gauge rails and became its successful champions.

Stephenson,  
Locke,

Brunel,  
engineers  
of the period.

V. The broad gauge system was the invention of Isambard Kingdom Brunel, son of Mark Isambard Brunel, both men of remarkable engineering genius. Isambard Kingdom Brunel invented and carried to great perfection the railway gauge of seven feet. He constructed the line from London to Bristol, which was opened 30th June, 1841, and for speed, safety, comfort, and style, was a great advance on all earlier work. It was very popular, but proved too costly. This line extended to Exeter, but not content with the western territory, the Great Western Railway system crept on to Gloucester, and then its directors were seized with the ambition to go to Birmingham and Liverpool, and they obtained Parliamentary powers to go to Worcester and Wolverhampton. I make extracts from a letter which, in 1846, I addressed to Mr. George Carr Glyn (afterwards Lord Wolverton), Chairman of the London and Birmingham Railway, on the jeopardy to which the interests of that line are exposed, by the Parliamentary resolutions of the House of Commons reversing the Gauge Commissioners' report.

Broad gauge  
goes north-  
ward.

<sup>1</sup> On 8th Oct., 1829, the first Railway commenced running at Rain Hill, on the Liverpool and Manchester Rail-

way. In 1880, nearly 18,000 miles of Railway had been constructed, and £802,000,000 of capital expended.



"Whilst the Great Western directors have been pertinacious and vehement in their advocacy of the broad gauge, the narrow gauge companies have abstained, as well from advocating Uniformity of gauge, as from defending even their own interests. This inaction, as is shown by the result, proves that the narrow gauge companies have greatly neglected their own interests, and committed an egregious mistake in keeping aloof from the question of Uniformity. They have left it to make its way on its own merits as one of national importance, apparently in obliviousness of the fact that, although Uniformity <sup>BE</sup> a public question, it is one which vitally affects the welfare of the narrow gauge companies, and above all, of the London and Birmingham. Public questions are not carried in this country upon their intrinsic merits. It is by the energies of those whose private interests are touched by them.

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AND DOCKS.  
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1845-1849.  
Part I.  
Superior  
tactics of  
the Great  
Western.

"Free trade would never have established itself without the untiring advocacy of those interests, base breeches-pocket interests if you please, which suffered from commercial restrictions and monopolies. So it is with the National Uniformity of gauge question. It *is* a national question; but nevertheless there are money interests deeply to be affected by it. The battle of the gauges has been fought, but all on one side. It has been a fight waged by the broad gauge against national uniformity, against the narrow gauge now recognized as the standard gauge, and most especially against the London and Birmingham welfare. It has also been a fight against its own interests in reality, one in which whilst it injures itself it must injure others, and especially ourselves.

Uniformity  
a national  
question.

"You and our parliamentary friends cannot surely be fully sensible of this, or you would have acted differently. The proceedings of the broad gauge advocates ought to have suggested the necessity for similar vigour as their own, rather than feeble supineness. We ought to have fought them with their own weapons. If the Great Western went in aristocratic deputation to persuade the Board of Trade, why did not the London and Birmingham go, as they might have gone, in still stronger array? Methinks Sir George Clerk would have found the difficulty he so pathetically describes, of resisting the entreaties of the Great Western somewhat easier, and National Uniformity would have triumphed in practice as well as in theory. If Mr. Russell, Chair-

Great  
Western  
deputations.

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man of the Great Western, is the champion of broad gauge and against National Uniformity, why is there not as good a parliamentary champion as he, for the London and Birmingham and for National Uniformity of gauge? Is our cause, whether viewed as a public or private one, not worthy of a champion? Are our interests of less extent or less value than those of the Great Western? Every interest has its representative in Parliament but Uniformity of gauge and the narrow gauge. Except good Mr. Hume, not a voice raised itself to speak for the principle of Uniformity. The Great Western's parliamentary friends were 'whipped up' by canvassing, and agents, and circulars, to be vigilant in attendance on the debate. Why had not narrow gauge and National Uniformity its parliamentary whipper-in likewise? and when the broad-gauge advocate raised the shout of advocacy of public interests, meaning all the while his own dividends or Mr. Brunel's whims, why was he not met on the same ground, and by the stronger voice of the standard-gauge advocates?

Mr. Hume.

Uniformity  
sacrificed.

"And see the effect of all these vigorous tactics; the blows have told; Uniformity of gauge is temporarily sacrificed, and worse still for us, a ruinous competitive battle will have eventually to be fought between us and the Great Western. We were beaten last year, notwithstanding we had public interests on our side, and were backed by the opinions of the Board of Trade. The Great Western showed themselves to be better parliamentary tacticians than ourselves, and won their Oxford, Worcester, and Wolverhampton bill, by dint of good management rather than the intrinsic merits of the line or any virtue of broad gauge. But their triumph was arrested for the sake of large public interests, by the appointment of the Gauge Commission. \* The Gauge Commissioners, concurring with the Board of Trade, reversed their triumph, and decreed that it was not for the public good that the broad gauge should extend its eccentricity, or that this Oxford and Wolverhampton line should be constructed on the broad gauge. Now, see the potency, even a second time, of Great Western tactics; they were not daunted, though beaten twice.

Gauge Com-  
missioners.

Board of  
Trade.

"The Board of Trade was to be bamboozled against its own conviction, and the wisdom of the Gauge Commissioners to be treated as foolishness, and to be overridden even by the Board of Trade itself. Such was the mission of Messrs. Russell and Saunders, and



they have succeeded in it. And why? Not because they had any increased show of right; not because they were wiser or less partial judges of public interests than the Commissioners; but because their pertinacity was unchecked, and no one appeared to do battle with them with their own weapons. If Great Western interests opposed the Commissioners' Report, why did not the London and Birmingham interests support it? Incessant watchfulness was needed to oppose the artful manoeuvres of the Great Western, but instead of this, incredulous apathy left them altogether unheeded and unopposed. And now we are called upon to believe that the broad gauge having got its territory extended northwards, in spite of Board of Trade and in spite of the Gauge Commissioners, to within thirty miles of Birmingham, will stop short there. It seems to me the most likely and natural thing in the world that it should go on to Birmingham. Go there it will. And what will be the result? Just what has happened wherever there has been competition, as with the well-known Derby and Midlands, and other contests—lower dividends to the proprietors—higher fares to the public; our ten per cent. dividend will come down in all likelihood to eight, the Great Western's to six, and instead of conveying the public between London and Birmingham at fares continually progressive in cheapness, the fares will be like the crab's progress—backwards.<sup>1</sup> . . . .

"The 'Spectator' newspaper, in an excellent article on the decision of the Board of Trade, remarks, 'The Board of Trade permit three lines not yet constructed, to the north and to the west of the Great Western, to be formed on the broad gauge, although the Acts for these railways only *allow*, do not *compel* the companies to adopt the broad gauge. The consequence of leaving the construction of broad gauge railways free within such an extensive field, will be an annual renewal of keen intrigues and canvassing between the broad and narrow gauge lines respectively, that all new companies starting within these districts may be brought to their allegiance;—all experience of railway legislation justifies the belief that the success of the broad or narrow gauge parties will depend in every individual case on the composition of the parliamentary committee. The most wasteful expenditure in jobbing

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Com-  
missioners' Re-  
port.

<sup>1</sup> This prophecy has been fulfilled.



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Uniformity  
of gauge.

will be incurred, with no better result than a perplexing intermixture of broad and narrow gauge lines.'"

VI. After the publication of this pamphlet, the proprietors in the London and North Western Railway engaged my services to create a public opinion to support Uniformity of Gauge as best for national interests, and I spent over two years in this work. I wrote a pamphlet, entitled "Inconsistencies of Men of Genius, exemplified in the practice and precept of Isambard Kingdom Brunel, Esq.," in which the argument was stated as follows. It

"Shows how Mr. Brunel, in 1838, persuaded the Directors of the Great Western Railway to adopt the Broad Gauge, assuring them that this Railway would have 'no connection with any other of the main lines,' and how, in 1845, he attempted to force a connection between it and the main lines at Wolverhampton, Rugby, Dorchester, &c.—How Mr. Brunel stated that carriages and trucks would not pass from one railway to another, being different properties, whereas more than half a million are passing annually at the present time.—How Mr. Brunel, in 1838, adopted the Broad Gauge for the express reason that the Railway would be nearly level, and have very slight curves; and how, in after years, he applied the Broad Gauge to Railways having the steepest gradients, and the sharpest curves.—How Mr. Brunel said, in 1839, that 'he never recommended the Broad Gauge for the purpose of having larger engines;' and how, in 1845, it was his boast 'that he was building engines wider and larger.'—How Mr. Brunel selected the Broad Gauge because it would enable him to place the bodies of the carriages *within* the wheels, and how he has always brought them *outside* the wheels.—How Mr. Brunel advocates the Atmospheric system, which in all essential points is the exact converse of the Broad Gauge Locomotive System."

Brunel's  
mode and  
practice.

Pictures.

Thackeray.

VII. The aid of pictures to represent the inconvenience of break of gauge was called in, and the "Illustrated London News" in its Journal inserted graphic scenes at Gloucester, forcibly drawn by Mr. J. H. Townshend. (See Selections, Vol. II.) Thackeray accompanied me to

witness the reality at Gloucester, which he satirized by two papers in "Punch" (May 16, 1846), entitled *Jeames on the Gauge Question*. Jeames loses his baby by break of gauge. These papers are not reprinted in the *Memoirs of Mr. Yellowplush*. So I insert them, with the permission of Messrs. Smith and Elder, and introduce them in Vol. II. (Appendix III.)<sup>1</sup>

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"Punch."

<sup>1</sup> The several works and pamphlets which I caused to be published to advocate Uniformity of Gauge were:—"The QUESTION of the GAGES commercially considered by a Practical Man," written by Wyndham Harding, Secretary of the Buckinghamshire Railway, published by Pelham Richardson, Cornhill, 1846, and a fourth edition by J. Weale, London.

"The BROAD GAUGE, the bane of the Great Western Railway Company, with an account of the present and prospective liabilities saddled on the proprietors, by the promoters of that peculiar Crotchett, by L. S. D.," written, I believe, by John Chorley, the principal writer in the "Railway Chronicle." "'A barbe de fol on apprend à rire,' which, being translated for the benefit of country gentlemen, means 'Mr. Brunel has learnt to shave on the Chin of the Great Western proprietors.'" London: John Ollivier, 59, Pall Mall. 1846."

"Narrow Gauge v. Broad Gauge. Price Sixpence, Reply to 'Observations' of the Great Western Railway Company on the Report of the Gauge Commissioners. London: C. Edmonds, 154, Strand; Vacher, Parliament Street; and all Booksellers."

"The Broken Gauge. Just published, price 6d., Fallacies of the Broken Gauge.—Mr. Lushington's Arguments in Favour of Broad Gauge and Breaks of Gauge Refuted; being

a Reply to the Remarks of a Late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, on the Report of the Gauge Commissioners. By a Fellow of Two Royal Societies. London: John Ollivier, 59, Pall Mall."

"Change of Carriage and Luggage. Third Edition, just published, foolscap 4to, price 6d., a Railway Traveler's Reasons for adopting Uniformity of Gauge. Stated in a Letter to I. K. Brunel, Esq. Joseph Cundall, 12, Old Bond Street." Written by myself. See Selections, Vol. II.

"Battle of the Gauges.—Narrow v. Broad. A Coloured Map of the English Railways already authorized, distinguishing the Narrow from the Broad Gauge District, was given as a Supplement, in the 'Railway Chronicle' of April 18. The 'Railway Chronicle' may be ordered of any Newsvender, price 6d. per week stamped, to go free by post."

"Gauge Evidence. Now publishing, in large royal 8vo, pp. 400, bound in cloth, with a Map, price 2s. 6d., The History and Prospects of the Railway System; illustrated by the Evidence given before the Gauge Commissioners: being a Comprehensive Review of the entire Question. London: Charles Edmonds, 154, Strand; Vacher and Sons, 29, Parliament Street; and John Ollivier, 59, Pall Mall."

"Speed and Cheapness. Now ready, with a Coloured Map, price 3d.,

Pamphlets  
published.



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Parcels.

VIII. Early in the year 1848, I published in the "Railway Chronicle" a series of papers on the CONVEYANCE of PARCELS, bringing to bear upon my advocacy of cheap and uniform rates for carriage of parcels, the experience I had gained in the working of the penny postage.

Small parcels.

"Next in importance to the conveyance of letters, is the conveyance of small parcels. Letters now go through the Post-office as cheaply as can be desired, at a uniform rate assessed on the weight; and many 'letters,' so called, are really parcels. But

Narrow Gauge Speedier than Broad Gauge Railways, as well as Cheaper. By Herbert S. Melville. Published by W. Stephenson, 12 and 13, Parliament Street; and all Booksellers.

"Railway Eccentrics. Just published, price 6d., Inconsistencies of Men of Genius exemplified in the Practice and Precepts of Isambard Kingdom Brunel, Esq., and the Theoretical Opinions of Charles Alexander Saunders, Esq., Secretary of the Great Western Railway, Advocates of a Break of Gauge. John Ollivier, 59, Pall Mall." By H. C.

"The Origin and Results of the Clearing System, which is in operation on the Narrow Gauge Railways, with Tables of the Through Traffic in the year 1845. Printed by Smith and Ebbs, Tower Hill, London. 1846."

"Dialogues of the Gauges. (Reprinted from the Railway Record.)

"I shall not ask Jean Jacques Rousseau,

If birds confabulate or no—

'Tis clear that they were always able  
To hold discourse, at least in fable.'

*Cowper.*

London: Railway Record Office, 153, Fleet Street. 1846."

"Unity of the Iron Network: showing how the last Argument for the Break of Gauge, Competition, is at variance with the true interests of the Public. By Thornton Hunt. Third Edition. London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 65, Cornhill. 1846."

"A Letter to the Directors of the Great Western Railway Company, showing the public evils and troubles attendant upon their Break of Gauge, and pointing out the Remedy. By an Old Carrier. Manchester: Bradshaw and Blacklock, Brown Street; and Fleet Street, London. 1846."

"A Few of the Miseries of the Break of Gauge at Gloucester, which occasions the Shifting of Passengers, Luggage, and Goods from one Carriage to another." H. C.

"In one vol., imperial 8vo, 2nd edit., price 5s., cloth lettered, National Uniformity of Gauge. History and Prospects of the Railway System Illustrated by the Evidence given before the Gauge Commission. By Samuel Sidney, author of 'Bristol a Free Port,' &c. With a Map. London: Edmonds, 154, Strand; and Vacher, Parliament Street."

"Third edition. A Railway Traveller's Reasons for adopting Uniformity of Gauge. Addressed to I. K. Brunel, Esq." H. C.



small parcels transmitted by railways, are subjected to charges regulated by little if any principle at all, and to charges almost as variable as those for letters used to be before the advent of the penny post. Almost every metropolitan railway has a different scale."<sup>1</sup>

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It was pointed out that the Post Office carried a parcel of the weight under four ounces, from Cornwall to Inverness for eightpence (it is now only twopence), whilst the railways charged at least four shillings. Now the scale of charges on the London and North Western for sixteen ounces carried six hundred miles, is fifteen pence, whilst the Post Office carries a letter weighing under twelve ounces, for fourpence!

"8. The parcel post is decidedly the most profitable part of the Post-office business. It is also conducive to public convenience in the highest degree. In due course, these circumstances alone would effect the extension of the system. But the railway interest should be reminded, that there exists a distinct pledge from the energetic and talented Post-office reformer, Mr. Rowland Hill, more than once officially repeated, that the carriage of parcels *without limit as to weight*, and at a LOWER RATE even than a penny per half-ounce, is a feature of his Postage plan.

Rowland Hill, had he not been thwarted by official obstruction, would have established in England the Banghy post in the East Indies, and the work is yet to be done. It is, however, now in trustworthy hands. At present a sort of compromise between the Post Office and the Railways, has been established, but the time is coming when parcels will be sent through the Post Office at uniform rates by

Parcel post.

<sup>1</sup> The Metropolitan Railways have established a system, but it is subject to the inconvenience of taking the parcel to the station—whereas the Parcels Companies call for parcels, and so should the Post Office. The

public now can only be served best by a system through the Post Office, as in Switzerland and Germany. Germany, with its population of 45,000,000, in 1880 despatched 67,319,700 parcels by post.

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Profit on  
parcels.

weight much lower than at present, and by means of prepayment by stamps.

IX. It was proved in 1848 that the railway profits on small parcels were eighty per cent.,<sup>1</sup> and that a parcel of a pound weight, could be profitably carried and delivered not only between London and Birmingham for fourpence, but throughout the United Kingdom for a uniform rate of fourpence a pound. The public has already got the advantage of a uniform railway rate of sixpence a pound for parcels between London and Liverpool, Manchester, and a few other places on the main lines specified.

Rates.

"40. Thus the plan which I propose is, that on all the railways of England and Scotland, parcels sent by PASSENGER TRAINS should

<sup>1</sup> It was found that the profits on small parcels were at the rate of as much as 80½ per cent., being the very highest rate of profit on all kinds of traffic, as appears by the following table :—

	Per centage of Charges to Receipts.	Per centage of Profits to Receipts.	Proportions of Profit taking the whole at 100.
1st class passenger . . .	33'32	66'68	31'60
2nd ditto . . .	29'91	70'09	28'96
3rd ditto . . .	29'16	70'84	9'35
Horses . . .	61'21	38'79	0'97
Carriages . . .	81'22	18'78	0'29
Parcels and dogs. . .	19'63	80'37	7'33
Post-office . . .	36'21	63'79	1'46
Goods and coals . . .	35'20	64'80	17'16
Stores . . .			
Oxen . . .	43'76	56'24	1'22
Sheep . . .	26'16	73'84	1'30
Pigs. . .	39'93	60'07	0'36

*Profits from Goods, Parcels, and Post-office per ton nett per mile.*

	Receipts.	Charges.	Nett Receipts, per ton, &c.
	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Goods . . .	1'726	0'608	1'118
Parcels . . .	18'166	3'566	14'600
Post-office . . .	9'995	3'619	6'376



be subjected to the following rates per pound—distance, as an element of charge, being discarded :—

Under 1 lb. . . . .	4 <i>d.</i>
Above 1 lb. and under 3 lb. . . . .	5 <i>d.</i>
Above 3 lb. and under 5 lb. . . . .	6 <i>d.</i>
Above 5 lb. and under 7 lb. . . . .	7 <i>d.</i>
Above 7 lb. and under 9 lb. . . . .	8 <i>d.</i>

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And so on in proportion—a penny for every two pounds.

X. In conclusion, I repeat now what I urged in 1848.

“ 56. Besides the profit of the proposed plan, it has a feature of general railway policy which especially recommends it for adoption at the present time. I believe it would furnish a more effectual argument against Government management and interference with railways, than anything else. The traffic of small parcels would always afford an example of competition with the Post-office, useful to both. The delivery would be more frequent, and therefore more convenient to the public; the charge would be cheaper, and therefore more welcome. But to enable the railways to give the public this boon, the present law of liability must be altered. The common law holds the railway responsible for safe delivery, whereas the Post-office repudiates the liability, even when a letter is especially registered; and a statute sanctions the repudiation! Make the law in both cases alike: let railways adopt a uniform rate for parcels of one pound and upwards, and the public will obtain literally a parcel postage more rapid and cheaper than that offered by the Post-office. The railways will present an actual illustration of the Marquis of Lansdowne's very correct apophthegm, that in this as in all other instances, the Government is always the inferior trader of the two.

Competition  
with Post  
Office.

“ 57. My advice to railways therefore is,—Assess the present charges on a uniform system, according to weight;—obtain profit and popularity, or remain passive and see the whole of the small-parcel traffic absorbed by the Post-office.”

XI. Although the New Docks at Great Grimsby were projected and carried out by private enterprise, they possessed features of so national a character, that His Royal Highness

New Docks  
at Grimsby.



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Part I.

Inland  
voyages  
saved

considered it a duty to take the leading part in the ceremony of laying the first stone of this great public work.

XII. Formerly it was desirable to bring all shipping as far inland as possible, as being the most expeditious, safe, and economical mode of transport that could be obtained. Hence our old harbours were carried up the country to the highest possible point. It is true that by ascending far inland, the risk and cost of shipping were much increased. Time—the most valuable element of modern commerce—is now lost by every mile of unnecessary inland navigation. Liverpool is an excellent example of this. Scarcely any shipping will now ascend the Mersey to its inland ports. It nearly all stops short at Liverpool; thence, in all directions the cargoes are transported by railways with expedition, and economy: thus, in a time incredibly short, has a great city and harbour grown out of the excellence of a situation at the mouth of a large river. As at Liverpool, so at Great Grimsby. The delays and risks of the inland voyage are saved. A ship enters the basin in deep water directly from the sea. She delivers her cargo into the railway waggons alongside the quays; they are transported without delay to the manufacturing districts inland. In a week the raw materials she has imported, may be spun, woven, dyed, finished, and again placed on board as manufactures for export. Thus, by the combined working of modern railways and modern machinery, may a ship have delivered her cargo, got it manufactured, been reloaded, and sent out to sea, in a shorter time than, in an inland harbour, she would have been kept waiting for a tide to enter the docks, or for a fair wind to take her out of the river. Thus it will be found that railways have materially altered the question of selecting a harbour, and turned the scale against the old system of inland navigation. Of all the routes between two given points, that is com-

mercially to be preferred which combines *the minimum of sea voyage with the maximum of railway conveyance*. These conditions determined Great Grimsby as a point on the most favourable route between the manufacturing districts of England and the North of Europe.

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XIII. A direct communication by railway bringing Liverpool, through the great manufacturing districts of Lancashire and Yorkshire, into connection with the north of Europe, so commended itself to my judgment as a *National work*, that I readily consented to the requests of the Earl of Yarborough, the Chairman, an extensive landlord in Lincolnshire,<sup>1</sup> and Mr. Jobson Smith, a stove manufacturer of Sheffield, the Deputy Chairman of the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway, which owned the Grimsby Docks, to endeavour to make known this project as worthy of national acceptance and support.

Liverpool to  
Grimsby.

XIV. Before the railway and docks were projected, about 1840, Grimsby, deriving its name from the Danish invaders who brought the name "Grim" with them, was little more than a fishing village. It had commercial importance in Edward the Third's time, when it obtained a charter of incorporation, to mark the king's gratitude for sending eleven fighting ships to the siege of Calais. Henry VIII. and his Queen Katherine Howard, were received by the burgesses of Grimsby with loyal splendour; but the place

Notes on  
Grimsby.

<sup>1</sup> His house was at Brocklesby, which had been a great hunting seat of his ancestors, and stables were provided for about sixty horses. The stables were connected by a corridor with the mansion, and after dinner, when it was thought that the men had had wine enough, the host and hostess conducted all the guests, men and women, to the stables to see the horses put to bed. Each horse faced the visitors with his groom, and a towel and

white night cap; his nose was wiped down, and turned towards the crib. The ceremony was animating, refreshing, and healthy after the hot and heavy work of the dinner. It took place when I visited Brocklesby on 5th Nov., 1847 in company with Mr. J. E. Jobson Smith and Mr. John Fowler, then beginning to rise into fame. We met there Mr. Mowbray Morris, then manager of the "Times."

Stables at  
Brocklesby.



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Docks at  
Grimsby.

declined until it was classed a dilapidated town qualified to receive relief under a statute "for repairing of sundry towns now fallen into decay!" Hull became its successful rival because imports could be carried by water further inland: but when railways came about, Lord Yarborough and his manufacturing allies foresaw that good docks at Grimsby, with a railway joining it, would tempt commerce to compete successfully with Hull, and greatly benefit Lincolnshire and its agriculture. Mr. Samuel Sidney, the successful manager of the Agricultural Hall at Islington, visited Lincolnshire at my request, and published an attractive book on the subject.<sup>1</sup> Lord Yarborough was rather too sanguine, and hoped for results too soon, but a quarter of a century has already shown how prudent the enterprise was from a public point of view.

XV. A joint company had been formed in 1845, to construct and work the railway and the docks together. Mr. John Fowler was engineer of the railway, and Mr. Rendel (whose chief work was Holyhead Harbour), the engineer of the docks. At that period my duties began—to make known that Grimsby Docks was a national and international work. I called the attention of Mr. Ingram, the originator and successful proprietor of the "Illustrated London News," to

<sup>1</sup> "Railways and Agriculture in North Lincolnshire. Rough Notes of a ride over the track of the Manchester, Sheffield, Lincolnshire, and other Railways, by Samuel Sidney, author of the 'Railway System.' Dedicated by permission to the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Yarborough, President of the Royal Agricultural Society for 1848, and Chairman of the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway. London: William Pickering, 1848."

"Dedication. To the Rt. Hon. the

Earl of Yarborough, President of the Royal Agricultural Society of England, and Chairman of the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railways, these Notes, on a District which owes mainly to his exertions the benefit of Railway and Seaborne communication, as it owed to the exertions of his ancestors and their tenants, the conversion of thousands of acres of waste into rich farm land, are, with permission, dedicated by Samuel Sidney."



the national importance of the works, which he recognized, and began to publish illustrations. On 15th April, 1848, he published a woodcut of the New Holland ferry on the Humber—a part of the system—an excellent work of art, designed by D. H. McKewan.<sup>1</sup> It was desired to make known the Grimsby Docks to the North of Europe, and no better plan for doing this suggested itself to me, than to advertise their existence in the columns of the leading journal, and after some weeks of perseverance I induced the publisher to insert in the "Times," advertisements of Grimsby Docks in German for the first time in its history.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A plan of the station, providing for inland and coasting traffic of six sorts, was published in the "Railway Chronicle" in May, 1848. This station was designed by Mr. John Fowler, C.E.

<sup>2</sup> They were as follows :—

#### PORT OF GREAT GRIMSBY.

#### NOTICE TO FOREIGN MERCHANTS AND SHIPPERS.

The dues for vessels entering the docks at Great Grimsby have been reduced to 10*d.* per register tonnage.

It is expected that the New Docks will be ready to receive vessels about the end of 1849. These Docks will present the great advantage over most other English Ports, of being accessible at all hours, except a couple of hours at low-water spring-tide. The Harbour offers refuge in all weathers. The railway communication, by means of the MANCHESTER, SHEFFIELD, and LINCOLNSHIRE lines, will be complete to all the manufacturing districts, and to all parts of the United Kingdom.

**Hafen von Great Grimsby.  
Anzeige an Kaufleute und  
Waaren-Ablader im Aus-  
lande.**

Das; die Abgaben für Schiffe, welche die Docks zu Great Grimsby einlaufen mögen, auf 10 pence per registrierte Ton niedergesetzt worden sind.

Allen Erwartung nach werden diese neue Docks gegen das Ende des Jahres 1849 den nöthigen Grad von Bequemlichkeit und Vollendung erreicht haben um Schiffe aufzunehmen.

Diese Docks werden den groszen Vorzug vor den meisten andern Englischen Häfen anerbieten, dass sie zu allen Zeiten, ausgenommen ein paar Stunden bey niedrigem Wasser nach den Springflüthen, zugänglich seyn werden.

Der Hafen bietet eine Zuflucht gegen Angewitter von allen Seiten, und der Verkehr mit den Manufakturen Englands und mit allen Theilen des Vereinigten Königreichs wird mittelst die Eisenbahne von Manchester, Sheffield und der Grafschaft Lincoln, ergänzt und complet seyn.

#### PORT DE GREAT GRIMSBY.

**A**VIS AUX NEGOCIANTS,  
aux Armateurs, et aux Capitaines  
de Navires Etrangers.

Les droits de tonnage sur les Na-

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XVI. These various public notices of the Grimsby Docks did not pass unobserved by Prince Albert, whose vigilance watched everything of national interest. At the half-yearly meeting of the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway on the 12th August, 1848, the Chairman (the Earl of Yarborough) made the following announcement:—

“I have frequently adverted to those docks as being of essentially national importance. I have always held them to be so, and I cannot give you a better proof that they are so estimated by those whose duty it is to consider such objects—I mean the Admiralty and the Government—than by communicating to you the contents of a letter, which I received from Colonel Phipps on the 3rd August. (Loud cheers.)

“Osborne, Aug. 3rd, 1848.

“MY DEAR LORD YARBOROUGH,—His Royal Highness Prince Albert having become convinced by inquiries, that the projected docks at Great Grimsby are likely not only to become of considerable national importance, but also to afford a very desirable refuge to the shipping upon the eastern coast of England, has authorized me to communicate to you his Royal Highness's consent to lay the first stone of the contemplated buildings.

His Royal Highness understands that the works will be in a proper state of forwardness for this ceremony to take place in the month of October, and I shall be happy, when the time approaches,

vires qui entrent les bassins à Great Grimsby, ont été réduits à 10 sols Anglais par tonneau de registre.

On compte que les nouveaux bassins seront prêts à recevoir les vaisseaux vers la fin de l'année 1849.

Ces bassins offriront des avantages bien décidés sur la plupart des autres ports de Mer de l'Angleterre en étant accessibles à toute heure, excepté pendant une couple d'heures à la marée basse, en tems de maline.

Le Havre présente un abri en tout tems. Les communications par l'entremise des Chemins de Fer de MANCHESTER, de SHEFFIELD, et des

Lignes du comté de LINCOLN, seront ouvertes avec tous les districts manufacturiers et avec toutes les parties de la Grande Bretagne.

It was without precedent to insert advertisements in the German character, but this difficulty was overcome by my supplying the type. I first heard of the effect of these advertisements from Thackeray, who was dining with the late Mr. T. Baring, M.P., at Hamburg. Their attention was arrested by the unusual type in the columns of the “Times,” and Thackeray said they exclaimed, “That's Cole's doing!”



to communicate with you as to the particular day that may be most convenient.

“ ‘Sincerely yours,  
“ ‘C. B. PHIPPS.’ ”

RAILWAYS  
AND DOCKS.  
A.D.  
1845-1849.  
Part I.

(Loud cheers.) That at once confirms the view I have always taken of the importance of these docks.”

Lord Yarborough wrote to me (7th March, 1849) to tell me he had suggested to Mr. John Fowler to consult with me about the arrangements necessary for the Prince's reception at Grimsby, and it was settled that I should have the responsibility of making them.

Prince Consort's visit to Grimsby.

XVII. The Prince carried out his intention and went to Brocklesby on 17th April, 1849, and laid the first stone of Grimsby Docks on the following day. I undertook to make His Royal Highness's journey as little irksome as possible. I collected specimens of books and objects of science and art which illustrated for the most part Lincolnshire and the Grimsby Docks. (See Selections, Vol. II.) They were arranged in the Prince's saloon, and Colonel Phipps (afterwards Sir Charles) wrote to “return me H.R.H. best thanks for providing such ample means of interesting amusement during this railway journey, which you must have taken very great trouble to do. The Albert Durer was very much admired, and so was the portfolio of drawings. Nothing could have been better than the whole of the arrangements of yesterday, and I assure you that the Prince was very *much* pleased with this expedition to Grimsby.” I was charged with making the arrangements for laying the first stone. (See Selections, Vol. II.) It was my first attempt at such a programme.

Journey to Grimsby.

XVIII. On the 18th of April, 1849, during an incessant snowstorm, the ceremony of laying the first stone took place, the Prince acting the part of chief mason. A brass plate, buried nineteen feet below low-water mark, recorded that



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"The First Stone of the Great Grimsby Docks was laid by H.R.H. Prince Albert, on the 18th day of April, in the year of our Lord 1849, in the twelfth year of the reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria. May God protect these Docks."

This work finished, a banquet followed, and after the toast of the Prince's health, His Royal Highness delivered the following speech :

Prince Consort's speech.

"My Lord,—I thank you most sincerely for the kind terms in which you have proposed my health, and you, gentlemen, for the cordial manner in which you have received it.

"The act which has this day been performed, and in which you were kind enough to desire that I should take the chief part, could not but make a deep impression upon me.

"We have been laying the foundation not only of a Dock, as a place of refuge, safety, and refitment for mercantile shipping, and calculated even to receive the largest steamers in Her Majesty's Navy, but it may be, and I hope it will be, the foundation of a great commercial port destined in after times, when we shall long have quitted this scene, and when our names even may be forgotten, to form another centre of life to the vast and ever-increasing commerce of the world, and an important link in the connection of the East and the West. Nay, if I contemplate the extraordinary rapidity of development which characterizes the undertakings of this age, it may not even be too much to expect that some of us may yet live to see this prospect in part realized.

Private, enterprise.

"This work has been undertaken, like almost all the national enterprises of this great country, by *private* exertion, with *private* capital, and at *private* risk, and it shares with them likewise that other feature so peculiar to the enterprises of Englishmen, that strongly attached as they are to the institutions of their country, and gratefully

acknowledging the protection of those laws under which their enterprises are undertaken and flourish, they love to connect them, in some manner, directly with the authority of the Crown, and the person of their Sovereign, and it is the appreciation of this circumstance which has impelled me at once to respond to your call, as the readiest mode of testifying to you how strongly Her Majesty the Queen values and reciprocates this feeling.

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"I have derived an additional gratification from this visit, as it has brought me for the first time to the county of Lincoln, so celebrated for its agricultural pursuits, and showing a fine example of the energy of the national character, which has, by dint of perseverance, succeeded in transforming unhealthy swamps into the richest and most fertile soil in the kingdom. I could not have witnessed finer specimens of Lincolnshire farming, than have been shown to me on his estates by your Chairman, my noble host, who has made me acquainted, not only with the agricultural improvements which are going on amongst you, but with that most gratifying state of the relation between Landlord and Tenant, which exists here, and which I hope may become an example, in time to be followed throughout the country. Here it is that the real advantage and the prosperity of both do not depend upon the written letter of agreements, but on that mutual trust and confidence which has in this country for a long time been held a sufficient security to both, to warrant the extensive outlay of capital, and the engagement in farming operations on the largest scale.

Agriculture  
in Lincoln-  
shire.

"Let me in conclusion propose to you as a toast, 'Prosperity to the Great Grimsby Docks,' and let us invoke the Almighty to bestow his blessing on this work, under which alone it can prosper."

XIX. This speech was published in the volume of



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Addresses of the Prince, which the Society of Arts issued at the suggestion of Lord Ashburton made at the Annual Dinner of the Society, on 24th June, 1856, and the introduction to this speech was written by me in 1857.

Prince Con-  
sort's speech.

XX. Sir Theodore Martin, with the Queen's sanction, has given me permission to reprint his observations on this ceremony, from his *Life of the Prince Consort*, which includes a little incident which must interest all the subjects of Her Majesty, especially those who are wives.

"A few days later he was called upon to lay the foundation stone of the Great Grimsby Docks, one of those great works, which, to use his own words on the occasion, are 'destined in after times, when we have quitted this scene and when our names even may be forgotten, to form another centre of life to the vast and ever-increasing commerce of the world.' Upon this occasion, he was the guest of Lord Yarborough at Brocklesby, from which he addressed the following playful note to the Queen, to appease the wifelike anxiety which even his briefest absence occasioned:—

Prince Con-  
sort to the  
Queen.

"Your faithful husband, agreeably to your wishes, reports,

"1. That he is still alive;

"2. That he has discovered the North Pole from Lincoln Cathedral, but without finding either Captain Ross or Sir John Franklin;

"3. That he has arrived at Brocklesby, and received the address;

"4. That he subsequently rode out, and got home quite covered with snow, and with icicles on his nose;

"5. That the messenger is waiting to carry off this letter, which you will have in Windsor by the morning;

"6. Last, not least (in the Dinner-speeches' phrase), that he loves his wife, and remains her devoted husband.

"Brocklesby, 17th April, 1849."

"Next day the stone was laid in the midst of a severe snow-storm. A luncheon followed, and, when the Prince's health was drunk, he alluded with admirable tact in his reply to the feeling which leads Englishmen, 'strongly attached as they are to the



institutions of the country, and gratefully acknowledging the protection of those laws under which their enterprises are undertaken and flourish, to connect them, in some measure, directly with the authority of the Crown and the person of their Sovereign. It is the appreciation of this feeling,' he added, 'which has impelled me at once to respond to your call, as the readiest mode of testifying to you how strongly the Queen values and reciprocates this feeling.'

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"Bleak and stormy as the weather had been, the concluding remarks of the Prince showed, that it had not prevented him from seeing what had been done for agriculture, by the energy and perseverance which had succeeded 'in transforming unhealthy swamps into the richest and most fertile soil in the kingdom.' He had been at pains, too, to ascertain how it was that Lincolnshire farming had reached so high a standard, and was delighted to find that it was in a great measure due to the most gratifying state of the relation between landlord and tenant."

XXI. The newspapers gave full reports of this event. A few words will show briefly the great industrial results at Grimsby which have ensued and justified the Prince's labour and aid given by him to the work. In 1845, the Dock dues at Grimsby amounted to only £1659. After the German advertisements in the "Times," they increased in the following year to £2509. In the year 1880, they had mounted up to £32,740.

Growth of  
Grimsby.





## WORK WITH TECHNICAL ARTS AND ART MANUFACTURES,

### PART I.

1841-1849.

#### I.

TECHNICAL  
ARTS AND  
ART MANU-  
FACTURES.

A.D.  
1841-1849.  
Part I.  
Summerly's  
Handbooks.  
Hampton  
Court.



THE collection of materials for the several Handbooks which were published under the *nom de plume* of Felix Summerly, caused me to study Technical Fine Arts of many kinds and ages.

II. At Hampton Court Palace, during three years of my vacations spent at Shepperton (1840) and Weybridge (1841-2), I carefully examined the sculptures in stone, wood, terra cotta, the tapestries, iron work, &c., with inventories of the work preserved in the Public Records. Paintings had been efficiently dealt with by Mrs. Jameson, Dr. Waagen, and others, so I did not dwell upon them. The artist-archæologist may still stand in the "New Hall" with the early Records published in my Handbook, and the book in hand may identify the pendants, the "reprises," the corbels, and spandrels, &c., with the names of the English artificers who executed them three centuries ago. For example, the letter **H** which stands in the angle of the east end of the hall, was sculptured by one John Wright, of South Mimms, and cost 22*s.* 6*d.* Repairs and restorations were in progress through-

out the place, and I watched the erection of the stained glass in the great east window, in 1843, by Mr. Willement.<sup>1</sup> The Office of Works were induced at this period, to bring to light many ancient tapestries and hang them in this Hall and the "Withdrawing Room." The fine iron railings, 1695, executed for William III. by Huntington Shaw of Nottingham, were perishing and falling to pieces in the open air by every change of temperature. They may now be seen preserved in the South Kensington Museum, to which place of safety they were removed by permission of the Queen. Torregiano's enamelled terra cotta busts of Roman Emperors were replaced on the Eastern Gateway (see Vol. II. p. 195).

III. Westminster Abbey, where I had permission from Dean Ireland to draw as early as 1827, beyond any other similar building in this country, is a perfect museum of illustrations of the Technical Arts, from the days of Edward the Confessor to the present time, of sculptures, brasses, mural paintings, glass, mosaics, bronzes, &c.<sup>2</sup> (see also Vol. II.

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Mr. Wille-  
ment.

Westminster  
Abbey.

<sup>1</sup> He was the first authority of his time, in Heraldic Decoration; his workshops were in Green Street, Grosvenor Square. He published many designs, and, when he retired from his business, he bought Davington Priory, near Faversham, which he sympathetically restored and lived in till his death. Mr. Minton's acquaintance with me was due to Mr. Willement, and it was promoted by his manufacture of encaustic tiles for the pavement of the Temple Church, when

Mr. Willement was engaged in the decorations. The tiles were made after the models of the ancient and most interesting pavement in the Chapter House of Westminster Abbey, lately made known to the general public through the restorations of Sir Gilbert Scott, R.A., energetically urged on by the late Dean Stanley.

<sup>2</sup> The following was an inventory of the principal works of Technical Fine Art which I studied in 1842 in Westminster Abbey:—

*Ancient Canopies in various Materials are still remaining over the Tombs of—*

King Sebert.	Edmund Crouchback.
Henry the Third.	Edward the Third.
Queen Eleanor.	Queen Philippa.
Aveline Countess of Lancaster.	Richard the Second.
Aymer de Valence.	

*Principal Brasses remaining in the Abbey.*

TO WHOSE MEMORY.	WHERE PLACED.
Bohun, Eleanor de . . . . .	St. Edmund's Chapel.



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p. 206). They constituted the principal interest of my Handbook to Westminster Abbey, but had received insufficient notice in other publications, except in Horace Walpole's. They are not even alluded to as artistic works in Dean

Bourghier, Humphrey . . . . .	St. Edmund's Chapel.
Esteney, Abbot . . . . .	In North Ambulatory.
Ferne, Henry, Bishop of Chester . . . . .	St. Edmund's Chapel.
Harpedon, Sir John . . . . .	In North Ambulatory.
Stanley, Sir Humphrey . . . . .	St. Nicholas' Chapel.
Vaughan, Sir Thomas . . . . .	St. John Baptist's Chapel.
Waldeby, Robert, Archbishop of York . . . . .	St. Edmund's Chapel.
Waltham, John de, Bishop of Salisbury . . . . .	Confessor's Chapel.
Woodstock, Thomas de . . . . .	Confessor's Chapel.

*Paintings, probably in Oil.*

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| I.—Benedictine Monk in St. Blaize's Chapel.  | IV.—Crouchback's Tomb.                                 |
| II.—On walls of the Chapter House, now uncovered, and about to be glazed to preserve them. | V.—Valence's Tomb, with enamels.                       |
| III.—King Sebert's Tomb.   | VI.—Countess Aveline's Tomb.                           |
|  | VII.—Portrait of Richard the Second.                   |
|  | VIII.—Traces of painting on most of the ancient tombs. |

The Portrait of Richard the Second has been admirably copied by the South Kensington School of Art, which might well devote attention to other paintings.

*Probably in Water Colours.*

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| I.—At north end of gallery in west aisle of south transept. | III.—In several parts of Chapter House. |
| II.—In St. Blaize's Chapel.                                 | IV.—In St. Erasmus' Chapel.             |

*Glass, Stained and Painted.*

ANCIENT.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| I.—North and south aisles of nave.         | III.—Eastern window of Henry the Seventh's Chapel. |
| II.—Clerestory windows, east end of choir. | IV.—Jerusalem Chamber.                             |

MODERN.

- |                       |  |
|-----------------------|--|
| I.—Great west window. | IV.—Window above Henry the Seventh's Chantry.  |
| II.—North transept.   | V.—Window in east end of triforium or gallery. |
| III.—South transept.  |  |

*Various Mosaics.*

- |                                    |   |
|------------------------------------|---|
| On Edward the Confessor's Shrine.  | On tomb of Henry the Third's children, in Ambulatory. |
| On Henry the Third's Tomb.         |   |
| On pavement in Confessor's Chapel. | In glass frame near King Sebert's Tomb.               |
| On pavement before the altar.      |   |

Stanley's "Historical Memorials of the Abbey." My attention to works of Technical Art is also evidenced by my Handbooks to the Temple Church, Canterbury Cathedral, the accounts of Windsor and Oxford, and numerous excursions which I wrote in the "Athenæum."

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IV. During this period, my young children becoming numerous, their wants induced me to publish a rather long series of books, which constituted "Summerly's Home Treasury," and I had the great pleasure of obtaining the welcome assistance of some of the first artists of the time, in illustrating them—Mulready, R.A., Cope, R.A., Horsley, R.A., Redgrave, R.A., Webster, R.A., Linnell and his three sons, John, James, and William, H. J. Townsend, and others. Reductions of some designs are inserted (see Vol. II.). A list of the books, &c., will be found in Vol. II. p. 161, with some specimens of Mulready's work and a copy of the first Christmas card<sup>1</sup> I believe ever issued. The preparation of these books gave me practical knowledge in the technicalities of the arts of type printing,<sup>2</sup> litho-

"Home  
Treasury."

Mulready,  
R.A.,  
Cope, R.A.,  
Horsley,  
R.A., Red-  
grave, R.A.,  
Webster,  
R.A., Lin-  
nell and his  
three sons,  
John, James,  
and William,  
H. J. Town-  
send.

*Sculptures on*

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR'S SCREEN, illustrative of his Life and Visions.

*Bronze Images on*

HENRY THE SEVENTH'S TOMB.

*Architectonic Sculptures in*

HENRY THE SEVENTH'S CHAPEL.

On the pedestals under each statue in the nave there is a label, which at some time probably bore the title of the figure above it.

<sup>1</sup> The Postmaster-General (Mr. Fawcett) states, in his Post office Report for 1880-1881, that in the Christmas week of 1880 "more than eleven and a half millions of letters and packets, over and above the ordinary correspondence, and four tons of extra registered letters, representing a total postage of £58,000, passed through the central office." Mr. S. A. Blackwood, the Secretary of the Post-office,

kindly informs me, that in the Christmas of 1881, "the estimated number of extra letters dealt with, was 12,500,000. The number of extra sacks of letters received was 3,704. The extra number despatched was 4,700." The net revenue from Christmas cards has been largely increased by the card designed for Felix Summerly by John C. Horsley, R.A., in 1845.

Christmas  
cards.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. W. Pickering, the English



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Method  
of engraving.

Wood en-  
graving.

Wood en-  
graving  
by Bewick.

J. Thomp-  
son.

Glypho-  
graphy.

graphy, copper and steel-plate engraving, and printing and bookbinding in all its varieties in metal, wood, leather, &c.

V. The different technical processes of engraving have been studied by me for above forty years. In 1839, my duties with the production of the Postage Stamp, made me acquainted with several of them. In the same year, an article on Modern Wood Engraving suggested by me, was published in the "London and Westminster Review" for 1840. It advocated and promoted the employment of women to engrave on wood. All the information and the collection of the illustrations in this article were furnished by me; and since that time I have studied the many varieties of wood engraving and its imitations;—from the Chinese wood blocks two thousand years old, once to be seen in the old East Indian Library; the wood engraving of the middle ages of Europe, when Botticelli, and Bellini, and Albert Durer, artists of the first rank, illustrated books; the work of the period of Bewick, eighty years ago; the fac-simile and other styles practised by John Thompson in England, and his brother in Paris;—the revival of the Bewick style by the Linnell family, for the illustrations of "Summerly's Handbook to the National Gallery," and lately the new American manner which produces woodcuts indistinguishable from line engraving. Specimens of the styles of engraving by Albert Durer, by John Thompson, and some women, chiefly his pupils, and by the Linnells, the father and sons, after the Bewick manner, as well as work by them and others in Glyphography, are given with the necessary technical explanations elsewhere (see Vol. II. pp. 163 and 165). The processes of etching on copper

Aldine publisher, was my first master in typography, and I bought of him the "Poliphilo" (ed. with date 1467),

in its original vellum binding, for £4, copies of which now fetch more than £40 each.



plates and biting in by the Dutch and other mordants, I practised before and after the formation of an etching class at the South Kensington Museum.

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FACTURES.

A. D.  
1841-1849.  
Part I.  
Etching  
in 1860-1870.

VI. Between the years 1860 and 1870, I sufficiently mastered the technicalities of etching on copper, that my works obtained admission to the Royal Academy, where I was an honorary exhibitor in 1865. A specimen inserted in Vol. II., was made to memorialize a village concert given by amateur residents in the old Saxon umbrageous village of Shere, between Dorking and Guildford, the profits being applied to a fund for giving a chaldron of coals to each old woman above seventy years of age.

VII. In Summerly's Handbooks, &c., essays in bookbinding were made, and the beautiful designs of Holbein as well as the fifteenth century patterns for leather still remaining in Durham Cathedral, gave suggestions which were used. Mr. Joseph Cundall, the author of "Bookbindings, Ancient and Modern," dedicated his volume to me as his earliest instructor. He was the cultured publisher of "Summerly's Art Manufactures," and has described some of my attempts to improve bookbinding. My latest essay in bookbinding was carried out by Godfrey Sykes, in a design for the binding of "Doomsday Book," which Mr. Riviere realized. It is in the Art Library of South Kensington Museum.

Book-  
binding.

Mr. J. Cundall.

VIII. My last attempt in Art Manufactures was the production in 1874 of a set of international playing cards designed by Mr. Townroe, and published by Messrs. Thomas De la Rue.

IX. But my first actual work of ART MANUFACTURES,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> At what period the use of the word "ART," to imply "Fine Art," first arose, I have not been able to trace. In 1837, the Art Union of London was established; but it was not legalized till 1846, by 9 and 10 Vic. c. 48, and after-

wards incorporated by Royal Charter on 1st December, 1846. The "Art Union Journal" was started in 1839. I believe I originated, in 1845, the term "Art Manufactures," meaning Fine Art, or beauty applied to me-

"Art."

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A.D.  
1841-1849.  
Part I.  
Summerly  
tea set.

J. S. Mill  
on "Art."

Professor  
Sidney Col-  
vin on art.

according to the modern use of the words, was the production of a tea service at the factory of Mr. Herbert Minton, at Stoke-on-Trent. In 1845, the Society of Arts offered prizes for the production of a tea service and beer jugs for

chanical production. I think Parliament, by the Act of 1846 alluded to, must have been the first public authority to use the word to mean "Fine Art." John Stuart Mill often expressed to me his dislike of the terms "*Polite Arts*," "*Fine Arts*," and was content to give in conversation with me a limited meaning to Art. Now we have Art-writers, Art-magazines, &c., and a Government Department of Science and Art, which means Fine Art applied to industry (to use a term perhaps invented by the Prince Consort) as distinct from mechanical Art. The old encyclopædias and dictionaries before 1851, gave the usual explanation of "Art" as practice or doing. In the last number of the "*Encyclopædia Britannica*," Professor Colvin has written a good article on the word "ART," from which I take the liberty of making the following extract:—

"We shall not concern ourselves with the many definitions that have been framed by thinkers seeking to classify these arts, either according to simple observation and comparison, or according to the principles each of his chosen metaphysical system. (For an account of these matters, see articles '*Æsthetics*' and '*Fine Arts*') Enough that, together with the useful arts, there exists this great group of arts of which the end is not use, but pleasure, or pleasure before use, or at least pleasure and use conjointly. In modern language there has grown up a usage which has not only put these and their congeners into a class by themselves, but sometimes appro-

priates to them alone the use of the generic word Art, as if they and they only were the arts, *κατ' ἐξοχὴν*. First, as the liberal or polite arts, and then as the fine arts, the languages of modern Europe have separated from the class of arts which exist only for use, the class which exist only or chiefly for pleasure. They have gone further, and have reduced the number which the class word is meant to include. When Art is now currently spoken of in this sense, not even music or poetry is frequently denoted, but only architecture, sculpture, and painting by themselves, or with their subordinate and decorative branches. And in correspondence with this usage, another usage has removed from the class of *arts*, and put into a contrasted class of *manufactures*, a large number of industries and their products, to which the generic term Art, according to our definition, properly applies. That definition covers the mechanical arts, which can be efficiently exercised by mere habit, rote, or calculation just as well as the fine arts, which have to be exercised by a higher order of powers. But the word Art, becoming appropriated to the fine arts, has been treated as if it necessarily carried along with it, and as if works to be called works of art must necessarily possess the attributes of individual skill and invention expressing themselves in ever new combinations of pleasurable contrivance. The progress of what an older nomenclature called the mechanical arts—the consequence of inventions for making production easier and more rapid by



common use, to be exhibited at an exhibition of Art Manufactures, at the Society's rooms, John Street, Adelphi, London. Having recently become acquainted with Mr. Minton, I persuaded him with difficulty to send in a design for a beer jug. He dreaded the retailers of London, who at that time ruled manufacturers with a rod of iron, but at last he gave way in terror. At the British Museum I consulted Greek earthenware for authority for handles, and I went to the Potteries on 3rd April, 1846, and passed three days in superintending the throwing, turning, modelling, and moulding of a tea service with the aid of Mr. Turner, then a workman, and now an alderman of Stoke-on-Trent. It was a condition of the Society of Arts, that the manufacturer's name should be given, and attached to any objects rewarded. Mr. Minton feared he would be ruined if he gave his! Messrs. Wedgwoods and Spode had broken down the tyranny of the retailers, and marked their names on their wares. Silver medals were awarded by the Society, through an Art Committee presided over by Sir William Ross, R.A., celebrated as the first of miniature painters of works grand in style though small in scale—to Mr. Minton's beer jug and to Felix Summerly's tea service. These objects were exhibited at the Society's Art Manufactures Exhibition, and are still in use in the Society's rooms, and may be seen in steam

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the application of physical agencies and the economizing of human labour — has led to the multiplication of products all alike, all equally bearing the stamp of habit, rote, and calculation, and all equally destitute of those properties of individual contrivance and pleasurable-ness. And so works of manufacture, or the products of machinery, which bear only very dully and remotely the mark of their original source in the hand and brain of man, have come to be contrasted with works

of art which bear such marks vividly and directly. For a century the mechanical kingdom, or reign of pure manufacture, had spread apace in Europe, engrossing an ever larger field of human production. Of late years there is a sign of reaction in favour of an extension of the kingdom of Art, or at least of endeavours to bring reconciliation and alliance between the two."—*Extract from article in "Encyclopædia Britannica."*



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1841-1849.  
Part I.

packets going to all parts of the world. I presented a set to the South Kensington Museum, which I hope may be kept and always exhibited there, as a link in the chain of circumstances leading to that great Exhibition, which sowed the seed for the beginning of the South Kensington Museum itself. H.R.H. the Prince Consort inspected these articles at Buckingham Palace on 5th Aug., 1846, and especially admired the milk jug.<sup>1</sup> The Society's Annual Art Manufactures Exhibitions were started by these tea cups and beer jugs, and expanded by the Prince into the great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations in 1851. I am informed by Messrs. Minton's firm that the manufacture of the Summerly Tea Cup and Saucer and Milk Jug, has kept several workmen at Messrs. Minton's China Works, Stoke-upon-Trent, incessantly at work daily, since 1846,

Society of  
Arts, 1846.

<sup>1</sup> In the address of the Council of the Society of Arts at the opening of the Session, 1846-7, will be found the following passage :—

"But there is one department of the Fine Arts very peculiarly belonging to this Society, which its very clear title indicates. It was the remark of our Royal President, the Prince Albert, made to a deputation from your Council, when waiting upon him on the business of this Society, that the department most likely to prove *immediately* beneficial to the public, would be that which encourages most efficiently the application of the Fine Arts to our manufactures. The manufactures of this country have, he observed, attained an eminence for solid execution, for perfect finish, for mechanical accuracy, and for cheap production, which distinguish them in these respects beyond those of any other country. But there are some countries that excel ours in the beauty of design, in the perfection of colour-

ing, in symmetry of form, in elegance of pattern : it is the application of the arts of design to the mechanical manufactures of this country, that is alone requisite to enable her to stand without a rival. Of high art in this country there is abundance ; of mechanical industry and invention an unparalleled profusion. The thing still remaining to be done is to effect the combination of the two, to wed high art with mechanical skill. The union of the artist with the workman, the improvement of the general taste of our artificers, and of the workmen in general ; this is a task worthy of the Society of Arts, and directly in the path of its duty. Such were the sentiments expressed by the Prince our President ; such also are the views which have guided your Council in their proceedings during last year. They have reason to think that this is one of the most promising and valuable spheres of future usefulness to the Society."

and it may be estimated that many hundred thousands of the articles have been made and sold for the benefit of industry.

X. Mr. Minton Campbell, late M.P. for North Staffordshire, who succeeded his uncle, Herbert Minton, as head of the firm, told me that lately he suggested that a new earthenware tea service should be modelled, and that the foreman asked, "Why, Sir? we are still making as many as we can of the F. S." An engraving of this tea service will be found in Vol. II., page 178.

XI. Great success followed the production of the Summerly tea service and the beer jugs of Messrs. Minton, which strengthened my conviction that an alliance between fine art and manufactures would promote public taste, and conduce to the interest of all concerned in the production of art manufactures. An organization of artists, manufacturers, and designers was formed accordingly, and a series of works were produced under the title of Summerly's Art Manufactures. The organization was thus announced in 1847 (see Vol. II. from p. 178 to p. 194 for illustrations).

"FRANCESCO FRANCIA was a Goldsmith as well as a Painter. Designs for pottery are attributed to RAFFAELLE. LEONARDO DA VINCI invented necklaces. In the Gallery of Buckingham Palace is a painting by TENIERS to ornament a harpsichord; and in the National Gallery there is one by NICOLO POUSSIN for a similar purpose. HOLBEIN designed brooches and salt-cellars. ALBERT DURER himself sculptured ornaments of all kinds. At WINDSOR is ironwork by QUINTIN MATSYS. BEATO ANGELICO and a host of great artists decorated books; and, in fact, there was scarcely a great mediæval artist, when art was really Catholic, who did not essay to decorate the objects of everyday life. Beauty of form, and colour, and poetic invention were associated with everything. So it ought still to be, and, we will say, shall be again.

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ART MANU-  
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Part I.

Summerly  
tea set.

Success of  
tea set.

Announce-  
ment of or-  
ganization  
for Sum-  
merly's Art  
Manufac-  
tures.



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Announce-  
ment of or-  
ganization  
for Sum-  
merly's Art  
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tures.

"Manufacturing silk is pre-eminent and abounds ; but artistic skill has to be wedded with it. This defect was early observed by the Society of Arts, and by their exhibition of manufactures and distribution of premiums, they have in part attempted the remedy. It is the purpose of this Collection to carry out the same object to a still greater extent, and to revive the good old practice of connecting the best art with familiar objects in daily use. In doing this, Art-Manufacturers will aim to produce in each article superior utility, which is not to be sacrificed to ornament ; to select pure forms ; to decorate each article with appropriate details relating to its use, and to obtain these details as directly as possible from nature. These principles are by no means put forward as forming an universal rule ; but it is thought they may be adhered to advantageously in most articles of use, and may possibly contain the germs of a style which England of the nineteenth century may call its own.

"Several of our best ARTISTS have already expressed their willingness to assist in this object, among them may be named—

JOHN ABSOLON.	S. JOSEPH, Sculptor.
JOHN BELL, Sculptor.	D. MACLISE, R.A.
T. CRESWICK, A.R.A.	W. MULREADY, R.A.
W. DYCE, R.A., Master of the School of Design.	R. REDGRAVE, A.R.A.
J. R. HERBERT, R.A.	H. J. TOWNSEND, Master of the School of Design.
J. C. HORSLEY, Master of the School of Design.	Sir R. WESTMACOTT, R.A., &c., &c.

"THE ART MANUFACTURES will be of all kinds, and executed in metals, pottery, glass, wood, ivory, papier maché, and other materials. Arrangements have been made already



with the following eminent manufacturing firms for executing designs :—

Broadhead and Atkin, <i>Metals.</i>	Minton and Co., <i>Pottery.</i>
Thomas Clark and Co., <i>Jewellery.</i>	Pellatts, <i>Glass.</i>
Christy, T. F., and Co., <i>Glass.</i>	Richardsons, <i>Glass.</i>
Coalbrookdale Iron Company, <i>Iron.</i>	Rodgers, Joseph, and Sons, <i>Cutlery.</i>
Dee and Fargues, <i>Ormolu.</i>	Simpson, W. B., <i>Paper Hanging.</i>
Dixon and Sons, <i>Metals.</i>	Smith, B., <i>Precious Metals.</i>
Gass, <i>Precious Metals.</i>	Stuart and Smith, <i>Iron Casting.</i>
Hollands, <i>Furniture and Upholstery.</i>	Taylor, Williams, and Jordan, <i>Machine Wood Carving.</i>
Jennens and Bettridge, <i>Papier-maché.</i>	White, C., <i>Stone Pottery.</i>
Leuchars, <i>Buhl-Work.</i>	Wedgwoods, <i>Pottery.</i>
Messengers and Co., <i>Brass Casting.</i>	Willock and Co., <i>Terra Cotta Works, &amp;c., &amp;c."</i>

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XII. I here with pleasure now record the names of these artists and manufacturers as pioneers at the beginning of a movement still in motion.

XIII. During the production of these ART MANUFACTURES, I became acquainted with Mr., afterwards Sir John Shaw Lefevre, K.C.B., on board a Chelsea steamer, 5th August, 1847. He invited me to call upon him at the Board of Trade, of which he was permanent Secretary, and was active in the management of the School of Design. He introduced me to Mr. Labouchere (afterwards Lord Taunton), the President, and to Earl Granville, the Vice-President of the Board of Trade. They proposed to me to give lectures to the School; but I declined. At Lord Granville's desire I consulted Maclise about lecturing. Maclise declined,

J. Shaw  
Lefevre.

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calling the school "a halt fire," and said "that something more than talk was wanted." Subsequently a minute was passed,<sup>1</sup> by which I received a commission, with the offer of a fee of £100, to write a report giving suggestions for the improvement of the School. I accepted the commission, and wrote three reports, and then resigned, foreseeing the hopelessness of success, and refused to accept the fee. These reports are published among the papers presented in the Commons' report on the School of Design in 1849.

School of  
Design.

XIV. My second report gave outlines of a plan for obtaining from the Government School of Design, designs for manufactures, &c., used by Government departments. It began with describing the existing practice of obtaining manufactures by the Office of Works, the Admiralty, the Ordnance, &c., and proceeded thus: "But there are occasions when the Government departments give commissions for exclusive designs to be made. Thus patterns for carpets and hangings have been specially designed for St. James's

Designs for  
Government  
Depart-  
ments.

<sup>1</sup> Minute of the Board of Trade at the Council Chamber, Whitehall, 14th September, 1848:—

"Read, a letter from Mr. Henry Cole, conveying his views upon the present state of the Patent Law and the laws giving copyright in design; also suggesting that the schools of design should be employed to produce designs for the articles used by the several Government departments, and expressing his belief that the schools might be made to a certain extent, if not altogether, self-supporting.

"Ordered, that Mr. Cole be requested to communicate further with my Lords on the steps to be taken for the employment of the schools of design in the production of designs for the Government departments; and to put himself in communication with the Committee of Management of

the Government School, in order to ascertain how far such a system can be carried out consistently with the course of education adopted by them.

"Also, that Mr. Cole be requested to report to my Lords upon the working of the Acts for the registration of designs, and to state to them in what manner the schools of design might, in his opinion, be benefited by an amendment of those Acts.

"My Lords defer for the present the consideration of that part of Mr. Cole's letter which relates to what he regards as the defects of the Patent Law.

"A copy of this minute to be transmitted to Mr. Deverell, together with so much of Mr. Cole's letter as relates to the School of Design; also to the Registrar of Designs."



Palace, and sometimes specific decorations of an extensive character have to be undertaken. I am informed, for example, that on the occasion of fitting up Her Majesty's yacht, the 'Victoria and Albert,' difficulties were experienced in obtaining suitable decorative designs, and that the School of Design might possibly have assisted usefully if the plan suggested had been in operation. The interior of the Museum of Practical Geology is now about to be completed, and the director, Sir Henry de la Beche, and Mr. Penne-  
 thorne agree with me in thinking there are some decorations for which the School might be asked to submit designs for approval; similar opportunities frequently present themselves. With respect to the royal palaces, my inquiries have been carried further than with Government departments, and brought almost to a termination. His Royal Highness Prince Albert, with whom I have had audiences on the subject, approves of the principle of the plan, after inquiring minutely into its bearings, and appointed the Master of the Household, General Bowles, and His Royal Highness's secretary, Colonel Phipps, to confer with me, in order to ascertain how far it could be applied. I have the satisfaction of being able to report that the Master of the Household sees no practical difficulties in its application to certain manufactures used in the palaces, and concurs in the possibility of making a commencement. General Bowles informed me that paper-hangings, carpets, chintzes of various kinds, and some pottery would be wanted in the course of the next year for Buckingham Palace and for Osborne, and his opinion was that the plan might be tried with such articles. At the palaces, according to the existing system, the manufacturer or tradesman submits patterns of the manufactures already in the market. In most cases General Bowles makes the choice, but in a few of the more special His Royal Highness Prince Albert does so." I detailed the

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Mode of  
Proceeding.

method of proceeding which I recommended, which, *mutatis mutandis*, after the administrative changes in the last thirty years, I still recommend.

"1. The Board of Trade would cause information to be collected systematically from all Government departments of the nature of the ornamental manufactures used by them, for which designs might be made to the Board of Trade, setting forth in detail the conditions of character, quality, destination, price, &c., of the articles; and specimens of those in ordinary use should accompany the report, *e.g.*, it would be reported, upon the information obtained from the Master of the Household, that designs were required, say, for an ewer and basin and certain chintzes, to be used at Osborne; this report would state the quality, size, price, and other conditions, and would be accompanied with samples of such articles usually employed.

"2. The Board of Trade would pass this report, with the specimens, to the School of Design, with directions to prepare proper designs accordingly.

"3. Designs accordingly, would be made in the School upon such a system as would be calculated to obtain the best possible, and to call forth the best talent in the School, as well of pupils as of masters. How to accomplish this is not, I apprehend, at present under consideration; but I assume that designs would be forthcoming in due time, or that the head masters would candidly report that the designs wanted were beyond the powers of the School, if they found that to be really the case. Most likely several designs would be prepared for the same article, at least in the beginning of such a system; and out of them I propose that the head masters should make a selection, which they should recommend to the Committee of Management for adoption, and unless they felt that the decision of the masters was palpably wrong, I presume they would adopt it. . . .

"5. The designs of the School would be transmitted by the Board of Trade to the Government department which ordered them, accompanied, if necessary, by a certificate (from a manufacturer who is employed by the particular department) that they fulfilled all the conditions of manufacture and price; it might be convenient that this certificate should be obtained before the designs left the School. . . .

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"7. The manufacturer would be eager to possess the copyright and have the power to sell them to the public. His Royal Highness Prince Albert and the Master of the Household are decidedly of opinion that the use of successful designs ought not to be restricted to the palaces, but that the public should enjoy all the advantages of being able to obtain them. The manufacturer would publish them as designs used at the palaces, and produced in the Government School; and the public by this course would have the advantage of obtaining directly for their own use and benefit, designs produced by the best ornamental talent which Government was able to secure. There is, however, a third contingency, which is, that the design may be a good one, and yet be rejected by the Government department. This rests upon an assumption not warranted by any facts, that there would be a want of judgment. If this unfortunately existed, it could not be exercised very often, or for any great length of time, and would be in part remedied and counterbalanced by an arrangement hereafter submitted; lest it might be apprehended that inconveniences would result in waiting for designs, I beg leave to observe that there would be no delay as respects articles in current use; they would continue to be supplied until better designs were ready to be substituted. As respects designs for special purposes, proper foresight and organization would provide against delay.

"In conclusion, I may point out that the principle of the



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proposed plan is already acknowledged and in operation. Government is accustomed to give commissions for ornamental designs, and not for designs only, but for the actual execution of them. This has long been the case with architecture and architectural decoration. The principle is now extending to painting and sculpture, and for decorations in most kinds of fabrics ; it is in general operation at the new Houses of Parliament. I may also instance the coinage and public medals as employing designers ; and independently of the great benefit which exacting designs from the School of Design would confer on the School itself, by giving it an irresistible motive to be practicable, it seems perfectly legitimate that the Government should obtain designs from the Government School of Design. . . .

XVIII. In my third report I attributed the imperfections of the school to the want of proper responsibility in all the system of management, without which nothing can succeed, and I stated that, looking "to the want of sympathy and cordial co-operation everywhere ; to the neglect of the provincial schools, and their gradual decline ; to instances of improvident expenditure ; to the daily growing dissatisfaction of manufacturers ; and, in short, to the absence of any palpable satisfactory results about which there could be no dispute, I find my opinion, of the unsatisfactory working of the School so confirmed, that I am impelled to express my belief, that by no means short of a complete change of system can the School fulfil its object, and its duty to the public." (See appendix to report from the Select Committee on the School of Design, 1849.)

XIX. The preparations for the Great Exhibition of 1851 arrested the further prosecution of the idea of giving to the School of Design a practical direction : and nothing was done until after the School was merged in the DEPARTMENT OF PRACTICAL ART, (established in 1852), and had

Practical  
work sus-  
pended.



been removed to South Kensington in 1855. But effect in after years, was given to the suggestion that the Schools of Art should be compelled to produce practical designs, and works in many branches were carried out at South Kensington, which will be described in the chapter on South Kensington. Such works may be said to have been almost suspended with my resignation in 1873. But I still indulge in the hope that my suggestion that Government should obtain for its several departments, the best decorative works produceable in the open market, may be revived through the Office of Works and resumed at the South Kensington Museum with its National Art Training School.

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## WORK WITH INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS.

THE GREAT EXHIBITION OF THE WORKS OF INDUSTRY  
OF ALL NATIONS, 1851.

### PART I.

1849-1852.

#### I.

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EXHIBITION  
OF 1851.  
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Introduc-  
tion.



THE history of the world, I venture to say, records no event comparable in its promotion of human industry, with that of the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations in 1851. A great people invited all civilized nations to a festival, to bring into comparison the works of human skill. It was carried out by its own private means ; was self-supporting and independent of taxes and employment of slaves, which great works had exacted in ancient days. A prince of pre-eminent wisdom, of philosophic mind, sagacity, with power of generalship and great practical ability, placed himself at the head of the enterprise, and led it to triumphant success. The Sovereign of that people gave to the work of her husband and subjects, her warmest sympathy, fondly watched its progress, and witnessed its triumph among a multitude of 25,000 persons, all assembled under *one* glass roof of 1,850 feet in length, an event which

had never happened before. In the history of the world, it may perhaps be safely said, that no monarch before Queen Victoria, had ever personally assisted a work like this. Her Majesty watched it with daily solicitude, and herself wrote a record of it.

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EXHIBITION  
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II. Of the principal incidents of this International work I was a witness from its beginning to its end, and had the privilege of devoting myself to it with all my heart. Notes of the events of the day were kept by me, which, with my recollections, have enabled me to fill up some blanks in the history, and to show something of its inner working which official reports and minutes do not tell. I hope the details will have a public interest, and perhaps be of use.

III. There are several epochs distinctly marked, with which my narrative deals. *Firstly*, the incidents seemingly insignificant at their origin, which led to the idea of the first International Exhibition: *secondly*, the making known the proceedings for enlisting public sympathy in this idea: *thirdly*, the arrangements necessary for making the execution a reality before Prince Albert committed himself to the full adoption of the idea: *fourthly*, the national sanction given by the issue of a Royal Commission, which virtually relieved the Prince of his personal responsibility, and *lastly*, the means by which the Exhibition was carried out to its final triumph.

IV. Prince Albert had been President of the Society of Arts for six years before the Exhibition of 1851. He succeeded the Duke of Sussex in the office, which was no sinecure to him, and took an active personal share in the work of the Society at that time, a very critical period in its history, which will be related in another chapter on the Society of Arts. The Prince promoted the grant of a charter of incorporation in 1847. He attended the annual meetings for distributing the prizes. It has been shown

Prince  
Albert Pre-  
sident of the  
Society of  
Arts.



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Art manu-  
factures laid  
before the  
Prince.

that a tea-cup led to the series of Summerly's "Art Manufactures" (Vol. I., p. 105, and Vol. II., p. 178). The tea service was brought to the notice of Prince Albert, who became personally interested in it, and communicated to me through Colonel (afterwards Sir Charles) Phipps, his secretary, that "H.R.H. will be at all times happy to inspect any specimens that you may think worthy of being submitted to him," and then began a correspondence which lasted till Sir Charles's death in 1866. The second letter I received from Colonel Phipps was as follows, and was frigid in tone compared with that which his subsequent letters soon assumed.

"Osborne, Dec. 15th, 1847.

"SIR,—I have duly received this evening the box containing the new specimens of the art manufactures, which I have submitted to his Royal Highness the Prince. His Royal Highness has much admired them, and has commanded me to intimate his intention of purchasing the silver and silver-gilt inkstand. The other articles I have directed to be carefully re-packed and sent to you. You must, I think, take care not to get the prices too high; and in order to make them fashionable, the art manufactures of a high class should be largely purchased by the members of the aristocracy.

"I have, &c.

"C. B. PHIPPS."

First sug-  
gestion for  
British Ex-  
hibition of  
1851.

V. On the 3rd January, 1848, I first made a suggestion for a National Exhibition of British Manufactures, to be held periodically, which I sent to Colonel Phipps, with the following letter.

"3rd Jan., 1848.

"DEAR SIR,—Having taken an active part in what the Society of Arts has hitherto done for the improvement of British manufactures, I shall be thought justified, perhaps, to have matured a plan for extending this object. And the time seems to me to have arrived when some plan for establishing a National Exhibition should be promulgated, and laid before the Society. But before any steps are taken, it is most important to ascertain the feelings

of H.R.H. Prince Albert in reference to it. I would therefore ask you to have the kindness to lay the enclosed before H.R.H., and learn whether the proposed plan is such an one as would be likely to meet with his Royal Highness's sanction and assistance.

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"I think I may venture to say that the Council of the Society would proceed in the most formal way, as soon as it was ascertained whether its doing so would be agreeable to His Royal Highness.

"If His Royal Highness should desire any explanations, I will ask you to express my readiness to attend any appointment that may be made.

"In the course of a day or two, I will trouble you with some art manufactures, which have just been finished. The inkstand I requested to be returned, has not yet been received. I wrote to you at Osborne respecting it. I only name the fact, but do not require its return."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Efforts were made by different individuals to establish Exhibitions of Art and Industry in the country, before the work of annual Exhibitions was systematically prosecuted by the Society of Arts, which culminated in the Great Exhibition of the Works of all Nations in 1851. In 1836, Mr. Theophilus Richards, of Birmingham, corresponded with Sir Robert Peel on the great importance of collecting specimens of foreign manufactures for the information of our own producers. Nothing came of it, but this, I believe, was the first attempt of the kind in this direction. A statement which the Secretary of the Society of Arts, Mr. Scott Russell, made in 1849, and laid before a special meeting of the Society on the 8th January, 1850, notices various attempts. In 1844, Mr. Francis Whishaw, one of the secretaries of the Society, in conjunction with his friend Mr. J. Woods, invited the support of the public, by loan or subscription, in favour of establishing an Exhibition of

the products of National Industry. A little exhibition took place in consequence, on the 6th December, 1844, when only 150 persons attended, and another on the 28th January, 1845, when the number of visitors was 800. It appears further, that a committee was formed to carry into effect the suggestion of Mr. Fothergill Cooke, on the 21st May, 1845, that a National Exhibition of the products of Industry in Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, in connection with the Society was established; that the funds in the first instance were raised by way of loan, and that Mr. Cooke placed a loan of £500 at the disposal of the Society for the purpose. On the 16th June, 1845, a committee met to carry the proposition into effect, when the members subscribed £150 to meet immediate expenses. Mr. Robert Stephenson offered a loan of £1,000, and Mr. Kemp, a silk manufacturer of Spitalfields, offered one of £500. But the suggestion was not prosecuted.



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First sug-  
gestion for  
a National  
Exhibition.

FIRST DRAFT OF A SUGGESTION FOR A NATIONAL EXHIBITION  
OF ART MANUFACTURES.

1. It was with the view of preparing the way for a National Exhibition of British Manufactures, similar in character to those which have been established in France and Belgium, that the Society of Arts established its prizes to promote the union of art with manufactures in 1846, and commenced a gratuitous Exhibition of British Manufactures in 1847.

2. The Exhibition for the present year will demonstrate that the preliminary steps taken by the Society for creating a National Exhibition have been fruitful, and that the success of an enlarged Exhibition worthy of the subject, is not at all doubtful.

3. But in order to render its Annual Exhibition most useful to the public at large ; to show the students of the School of Design what is being done in art and manufactures ; to connect more closely the Government School of Design with the various manufacturers throughout the whole kingdom, who must be the employers of the students of such schools, and at the same time further a large National Exhibition of British Manufactures, it is proposed :—

4. That the places where Schools of Design are established, should, in rotation, have the advantage and use of the collection made in London every year by the Society ; and to do this, the Society suggests that the manufacturers and proprietors of the chief specimens should deliver them over to the Council of the Schools of Design, to be sent for exhibition to the students and public generally each year, in such provincial schools as the Council may think fit.

5. It is also proposed, with the co-operation of the Board of Trade, that the Society of Arts shall, every [*fourth* ?] year make a collected exhibition of the principal subjects exhibited in the previous three years, and of others expressly prepared for the special purpose ; and that such exhibition shall take place in some large building purposely provided, if not at the cost of the Government, at least with the Government sanction.

6. It is suggested that the site which offers the greatest advantages for such a building would be Trafalgar Square. This spot



is most central ; it is the most convenient for access by land and water, from all parts of the metropolis. It may be approached closely by carriages ; it affords abundant space and a provision of water for specimens and models best exhibited in connection with water ; and it offers facilities for a structure of the most economical character, inasmuch as there is already a good pavement, and three sides more or less available in a building for the purpose.

7. The Government sanction to the erection of such a building would have to be obtained ; and if there should be any reluctance on the part of Government to undertake the risk of the structure, it is believed that other responsible parties might be found to do so.

8. The Society of Arts would collect the articles to be exhibited, and manage the necessary details of the Exhibition.

9. The admission to the Exhibition should be partly free and partly by payment, as at the exhibitions at Westminster Hall.

10. The receipts arising from the Exhibition would be applied, in the first instance, to the payment of the expenses incurred in forming it ; in paying for the honorary medals and rewards to be distributed to artists, manufacturers, and art workmen ; and in forming a fund for future exhibitions.

VI. The answer to this project came from Colonel Phipps, dated 6th February, 1848, marked "Private and Confidential," and was discouraging. He said, "The opinion obtained by the Prince did not appear favourable to any such plan," and "that no reasonable hope could be entertained of any co-operation or assistance, at any rate at present, from the Government." But the subject was not allowed to drop.

VII. On the 12th March, 1848, a deputation consisting of Sir J. P. Boileau, Bart., Mr. G. Bailey, Curator of the Soane Museum, myself, then a Keeper of the Public Records, Mr. P. Le Neve Foster, who became Secretary of the Society of Arts in 1853, Mr. J. S. Lefevre, then Assistant Secretary of the Board of Trade, who had just become a member of the Society of Arts, and Mr. J. Scott Russell, Secretary of the Society of

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EXHIBITION  
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Receives no  
encourage-  
ment.

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A.D.  
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Part I.

Deputations  
to Board of  
Trade.

Petition to  
Parliament.

Arts, waited upon Mr. Labouchere, the President of the Board of Trade, to submit to him the project given above, and ask for the co-operation of the Schools of Design. Mr. Labouchere was friendly to the application. On the 12th May following, the same deputation was received by Lord Morpeth, the Chief Commissioner of Public Works, to request that he would allow the National Exhibition of 1851 to be held in Trafalgar Square. To this request Lord Morpeth could not consent, as he thought the Exhibition would obstruct the public traffic, but he offered the quadrangle of Somerset House, which was provisionally accepted and announced to the public by the Society. Another step taken was the presentation of a petition to Parliament from the Society of Arts, which I had prepared, and it was adopted by the Council on the 21st April, 1849, and I took the necessary steps to have it presented through Mr. Milner Gibson. I reported to the Council on the 9th May, that it had been presented and referred to the Select Committee of the Schools of Design, presided over by Mr. Milner Gibson, in whose draft report<sup>1</sup> the petition was thus commented on :—

*“National Exhibition of Manufactures.”*—A Petition from the Council of the Society of Arts has been referred to your committee. The prayer of this Petition is, that the Government should permit the use of a public building for the purposes of a National Exhibition of Manufactures, to be held every five years. Your committee examined several witnesses upon this subject, who all agreed in the great advantages which the decorative manufactures of this country were likely to derive from it. Your committee coincide in this opinion. Mr. Cole showed the progressive success of the annual exhibitions of the Society of Arts, and that they had now become a source of income to the Society, after paying their expenses. Your committee think there is every reasonable proba-

<sup>1</sup> See Report on School of Design, by Committee of the House of Commons, 27th July, 1849, p. xlii.



bility that a National Exhibition of Decorative Manufactures, if properly organized, might be made to a considerable extent, if not wholly, to repay its expenses. Looking to the relations on this subject between the Society of Arts, who have already successfully educated the public to appreciate such Exhibitions, and the Board of Trade, who have confirmed their importance, your committee think that the prayer of the Petition is well worthy of the consideration of Her Majesty's Government."

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VIII. In 1849, an Exhibition of French Industry was held in Paris, which I visited in company with Mr. Digby Wyatt, who had been commissioned by the Society of Arts to visit Paris and make a report on the Exhibition, with suggestions likely to be useful for the proposed quinquennial Exhibition in 1851. We met there my friend Mr. Herbert Minton, who subsequently obtained European fame for his pottery of all kinds, first exhibited by him, but somewhat unwillingly, at the International Exhibition of 1851.

Visit to  
Paris Ex-  
hibition of  
1849.

IX. On the 14th June, 1849, Prince Albert distributed the prizes at the Society of Arts according to his wont. He alluded to the proposed National British Exhibition of 1851, as well as to the Exhibition at Paris, and immediately afterwards a series of events followed, which led to the enlargement of the National Exhibition into an Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations.

Prince's  
allusion to  
the National  
Exhibition.

X. On the 29th June, 1849, in consequence of a letter from Colonel Phipps, about the exact day of a meeting appointed by Prince Albert, to discuss the Exhibition of 1851, I called at Buckingham Palace. He said that the Prince was at home, and would like to see me then about the Exhibition of Manufactures proposed by the Society of Arts, which the Prince had alluded to on the 14th June. H.R.H. came into Colonel Phipps's room, and entered fully into the ideas of the Exhibition so far as they had been developed. He thought the Exhibition should be a large

First meet-  
ing with  
Prince  
Albert on  
Exhibitions.



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EXHIBITION  
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Part I.

National or  
international.

Visit to  
Paris.

M. Buffet,  
proposal for  
an International  
Exhibition.

one, and suggested that a permanent building might be erected in Leicester Square, then in a most neglected state. I observed that there appeared to me to be an earlier question than the site, and I asked the Prince if he had considered if the Exhibition should be a National or an International Exhibition. The French had discussed if their own Exhibition should be International, and had preferred that it should be National only.<sup>1</sup> The Prince re-

<sup>1</sup> It was my first visit to Paris, and with Mr. Digby Wyatt I put up at the Hotel de la Ville de Paris. We were awakened at midnight by the stifling odour of emptying the cesspools, altogether a novel sensation, which years have not obliterated from my mind. We heard of M. Buffet's proposal that the French Exhibition of 1849 should have been International, and the rejection of it. We discussed the idea, and I collected all the opinions I could on the question if the British Exhibition of 1851 should be National or International. I recollect standing before the stall of bronzes of M. Denière in the Exhibition, and asking Mr. Herbert Minton, who was of a somewhat conservative turn of mind, what he thought of it; he instantly declared for the International idea. M. Buffet's circular of the 10th February, 1849, to the French Chambers of Commerce was as follows:—

*Circular addressed to the Members of  
the Chambers of Commerce.*

"Feb. 10, 1849.

"GENTLEMEN,—At a time when I and my colleagues in office are busily engaged in doing all we can to give to the Exhibition, which opens on the 1st of June next, a character of public utility, it has occurred to me that it would be interesting to the country in general to be made acquainted with the de-

gree of advancement towards perfection attained by our neighbours, in those manufactures in which we so often come in competition in foreign markets.

"Should we bring together and compare the specimens of skill in agriculture and manufactures now claiming our notice, whether native or foreign, there would, doubtless, be much useful experience to be gained, and above all, a spirit of emulation, which might be made greatly advantageous to the country.

"This I had thought of before the portfolio of Agriculture and Commerce was confided to me; it has since been strongly confirmed in my mind by the similar views which I have heard expressed on the subject, by gentlemen distinguished by their success in the industrial arts, and the consequent position they occupy. At the same time, I cannot but foresee that difficulties would arise in carrying it out, were it unavoidable to admit without distinction all the productions offered for exhibition. There would be no room to contain them, since the area of the building intended for the Exhibition is calculated for the admission of native productions alone. This circumstance, no doubt, is of sufficient importance to delay the execution of this project, however useful; but this obstacle might be overcome by limit-

flected for a minute, and then said, "It must embrace foreign productions," to use his words, and added emphatically, "International, certainly." Upon which I said, "Do you think, Sir, Leicester Square would be large enough?" He replied, "Certainly not, for works of all nations. Where do you think it should be?" I answered, "In Hyde Park." The Prince then discussed various sites in Hyde Park; and after saying that a Royal Commission would be expedient, concluded the interview by desiring me to visit Hyde Park, and consider a site which would not interfere with the manœuvres of the soldiers. My report was to be made the next day, when a meeting was held by His Royal Highness;

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Leicester  
Square  
given up.

ing the admission to those foreign productions which, by their novelty or evident superiority, might exercise a beneficial influence on our manufactures.

"You will, therefore, first give your opinion on the abstract principle of exhibiting the productions of other countries, and should you consider the experiment ought to be made, to enumerate to me officially the articles you consider would most conduce to our interest when displayed in the ensuing Exhibition.

"To this end I shall be obliged by your detailing precisely, the objects it would most benefit us to become acquainted with, whether new applications of the arts, new productions, or improvements of importance. Feeling anxious to preserve the two-fold character which my predecessor had given to the Exhibition, I wish it to be understood that the implements and productions of husbandry, as well as the fruits of our manufactories, should be included in the list of admissible objects.

"The experiment we are about to make, if I am well informed, has been

already tried in two Exhibitions, undertaken some years ago by the Chambers of Commerce at Lyons and Mulhausen. The example thus given in the provinces will, doubtless, be worth following on a more extended scale.

"As to the conditions and forms to be observed by foreigners previous to the reception of their contributions, it will be my duty, should you approve of the principle of their admission, to consult with my colleagues the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, and Finance.

"You will oblige me, gentlemen, by taking into your most serious consideration the subject of this letter, and communicating to me, as soon as possible, the conclusions you have arrived at.

"It is needless for me to remind you that the Exhibition opens on the 1st of June, and that all articles must be in Paris, at the latest, by the end of April. Your answer without delay will therefore oblige me.

"I beg to assure you, Gentlemen, of my highest consideration.

"L. BUFFET,  
"Minister of Agriculture  
"and Commerce."



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at which were present Mr. Thomas Cubitt, a member of the Society of Arts since May, 1819, who had been and was engaged in building the Queen's residence at Osborne; Mr. Scott Russell, Secretary of the Society of Arts; Mr. Francis Fuller, introduced by Mr. Russell, as being likely to be able to find a contractor; and myself.

XI. The meeting took place at Buckingham Palace on the 30th June, when we were received by the Prince attended by Colonel Phipps. The subject was discussed, and a minute prepared by the secretary, the proof of which the Prince himself corrected. The possession of the copy containing the corrections, has been acquired by the Society of Arts, and I have been permitted by the Council to make a facsimile showing the adoption of the international idea in the Prince's own handwriting. This minute and others in full are given in my introduction to the official Catalogue of the Exhibition which was submitted to the Prince and revised by him. The Prince repeated his idea of a permanent building, and called on Mr. Cubitt, as a large owner of "square" property, to express his views. Mr. Cubitt answered somewhat to this effect, "Your Royal Highness proposes to accomplish a great public good by the Exhibition, but if you build on a square in which the public has a moral, if not a legal, right, you will do a great wrong, and set a bad example." The Prince did not discuss the use of Leicester Square any further.

Mr. Cubitt's  
objections  
to Leicester  
Square.

XII. A second meeting took place at Osborne, on the 14th July, 1849, at which Mr. Labouchere, President of the Board of Trade, was present. He suggested that before October, when the Government would be re-assembling, "the interval might be most usefully employed by the Society, in collecting more evidence as to the readiness of the great manufacturing and commercial interests to subscribe to and support the undertaking." Accordingly, during this

Deputations  
to great  
Towns.



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EXHIBITION OF 1851.

ALBERT



interval, deputations of members of the Society of Arts were commissioned by the Prince in the following diploma:—

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Form of  
Commission.

" . . . is authorized by His Royal Highness the Prince Albert, as President of the Society of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, to collect opinions and evidence with reference to the expediency of forming a great Exhibition of Industry of all Nations, to be held in London in the year 1851, in order that His Royal Highness may bring the results of such inquiry before Her Majesty's Government.

" Approved.

" By Command.

" C. B. PHIPPS."

XIII. Deputations visited Manchester, the Staffordshire Potteries, Sheffield, Leeds, Bradford, Rochdale, Huddersfield, Kendal and Glasgow, and the signatures of manufacturing firms willing to be Supporters, were submitted to the Prince at Balmoral on the 3rd September, 1849. On the printed minutes of that day is entered the Prince's correspondence with Sir George Grey, the Home Secretary, which virtually determined that the Exhibition was to be of the " Industry of all nations."

" Osborne, July 31, 1849.

" SIR,—The Society of Arts having during several years formed Exhibitions of Works of National Industry, which have been very successful, believe that they have thereby acquired sufficient experience, and have sufficiently prepared the public mind, to venture upon the execution of a plan they have long cherished—to invite a *quinquennial Exhibition in London of the Industry of all Nations*.

Prince's application for a Royal Commission.

" They think that the only condition wanting to ensure the success of such an undertaking, would be the sanction of the Crown given in a conspicuous manner; and they are of opinion that no more efficacious mode could be adopted than the issue of a Royal Commission to enquire into, and report upon, the practicability of the scheme, and the best mode of executing it.

Quinquennial Exhibition of all Nations.

" I have therefore been asked, as President of the Society, to bring this matter officially before you, and to beg that Her



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Majesty's Government will give this important subject their best consideration.

"The Exhibition was proposed to be invited for 1851, and the magnitude of the necessary preliminary arrangements, renders it highly desirable that the decision which the Government may have come to, should be ascertained within the space of a few months.

"I am, &c., &c.,

"ALBERT."

"The Right Honourable Sir George Grey, Bart.,  
G.C.B., &c., &c., &c."

Sir George Grey replied immediately.

"Whitehall, August 1st, 1849.

Sir G. Grey's  
answer.

"SIR,—I have had the honour to receive your Royal Highness's letter of the 31st July, suggesting the issue of a Royal Commission to enquire into, and report upon, the practicability of a Scheme which has been formed by the Society of Arts for a quinquennial Exhibition in London of the Industry of all Nations.

"I shall not fail in obedience to your Royal Highness's commands, to take an early opportunity of bringing this important subject under the consideration of Her Majesty's Government, and I am confident that it will receive their careful and deliberate attention.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

"G. GREY."

"To His Royal Highness Prince Albert, K.G."

XIV. I made a full report, dated 5th October, 1849, of my visits to several towns, with abundant evidence of the willingness of Manufacturers to support the Exhibition. I said :—

Reports of  
visits.

"Bearing in mind your Royal Highness's wishes, we stated emphatically on all occasions, that our inquiries were to be regarded only as preliminary and as private. At the outset we commenced our inquiries by visiting individuals or commercial firms singly, proposing to consult in each locality only those which in our judgment appeared to be the most eminent, and only a small number of these. We accordingly visited in this way, the Staffordshire Potteries, Sheffield and Bradford, and we were pur-

suings this course, but at Manchester we found, in some cases, that our inquiries were viewed as of so great an importance, that not only were all the several partners of large firms assembled to receive us, and discuss the proposal, but that several firms had united in a joint meeting for the same object. Limiting our inquiries in the first instance to manufacturers, we had not proposed to consult merchants or others less directly concerned in actual *production*, but very soon after our arrival at Manchester we found that this course would be injudicious, and we received on all sides suggestions that, for many reasons, it was expedient that we should make our visit known as early as possible to the mayor or chief magistrate, and be guided by him as to the parties it might be most desirable to see. We forthwith communicated with the Mayor of Manchester, who immediately enabled us to consult a few of the most important persons. He suggested that we should visit Manchester again, and kindly volunteered to assist us in further inquiries. We may also mention, that at Manchester we found our visits had been heralded in the local newspapers. Your Royal Highness will see that even thus early it became beyond our power to circumscribe altogether the publicity attaching to our investigations, and it remained for us only, on every occasion, to reiterate a declaration that the proposal, in its present state, must be considered as private, and under investigation.

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Manchester.

"After leaving Manchester, we adopted, as a general rule, the plan of announcing our intended visits to the chief magistrate of each town, at the same time requesting him to enable us to meet a few of the leading manufacturers and other influential persons of his neighbourhood. In every case we found this request willingly responded to, and our inquiries were thus very much facilitated. But it was not until we reached Dublin that these meetings assumed a semi-public character. At Dublin the Lord Mayor had invited considerable numbers to attend, and the meeting was large. Reporters from the newspapers were present. Formal resolutions were unanimously passed, which were advertised, and a report of this meeting was published in the Dublin papers (not quite so accurately as might have been wished), which was afterwards extensively copied into other newspapers. From this period our visitations necessarily have assumed a somewhat less private character."

Dublin.



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XV. At this meeting at Dublin, it was reported in the Dublin papers, that I said that "The various and conflicting interests of parties had been debated by the Prince with great ability, bearing on the question whether English, Irish, and Scotch manufacturers would be served or injured by confining the competition to the United Kingdom, or by throwing it open to the manufacturers of the whole world. The Prince was not moved to these inquiries by any man or body of men. It was his own spontaneous act irrespective of external influence." The Prince wrote, 14th September, 1849, to instruct Colonel Phipps to remind me that the strictest privacy was originally observed, and to caution me not to be drawn away by degrees from the original position. "Praising me at meetings looks as if I were to be advertised and used as a means of drawing a full house," &c., &c. "Mr. Cole excuses himself about Dublin, and calls it an unexpected occurrence that newspaper reporters should have been present, and says the proceedings were incorrectly reported. In London additional caution will be required."<sup>1</sup> Before I had received the Prince's admonition, Colonel Phipps had written to the Lord Mayor, 12th September, 1849, "to introduce to your Lordship, Messrs. Henry Cole, Fuller, and J. Scott Russell, who have been actively engaged in prosecuting these inquiries and in endeavouring to promote the success of the proposed Exhibition. These gentlemen will be prepared fully to explain to your Lordship the objects and nature of the undertaking, and the progress that has as yet been made; and the Prince has commanded me to assure you of His Royal Highness's conviction that your Lordship will be disposed to afford these gentlemen such assistance as may be in your Lordship's power, towards the formation of a City Committee for the purpose of inquiring into and promoting this great plan."

<sup>1</sup> See "Life of the Prince Consort," by Sir T. Martin, vol. ii., p. 226.



XVI. Several members of the Society of Arts were commissioned by the Prince to visit seats of manufactures, and make known the intended Exhibition. Every now and then some indiscreet words were spoken, and I received the admonition. Here is some correspondence at this time :—

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“Osborne, Oct. 8th, 1849.

“MY DEAR SIR,—Upon Thursday, at the hour you mention, the Prince will be ready to see you at Windsor.

Caution im-  
pressed by  
the Prince.

“I filled up the forms exactly answering to the list you sent me, and was not aware at the moment that Mr. Dilke had had one before.

“I see by the accounts in the newspapers, that at some of the country meetings, Mr. Fuller has again entered into details as to the prizes, and has also held out the expectation of the medals being presented by the Queen.

“I was in hopes that I had already been sufficiently explicit upon this head.

“If a Royal Commission is to be appointed, they will expect to have the decision of the question as to the amount of prizes, and by any premature declarations upon this point, either their discretion must be cramped, or public disappointment must ensue, should their regulation as to prizes be different from the expectations that had been raised. For instance, with regard to the great £5,000 prize, I have heard many different opinions, and it would be a question, undoubtedly, that would meet with some discussion before the Commission.

“The Queen's name should never, even provisionally, be pledged to anything, unless by Her Majesty's sanction directly expressed. The Queen has never given any assurance that she would present the prizes, and every time that a probability of this act is declared, disappointment (in case of Her Majesty not wishing, or not being able to fulfil the expectation) is prepared.

“If I knew Mr. Fuller's address, I would write to him myself upon this subject; perhaps you would give him a hint upon it, assuring him at the same time that his exertions in the cause are highly appreciated, and appear to have been very successful.

“Sincerely yours,

“C. B. PHIPPS.”

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Inaccurate  
reports.

# XVII. I excused myself as best I could :—

"1, Terrace, Kensington, 9th Oct., 1849.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I assure you I have twice written to Mr. Fuller since he left town, enjoining the utmost circumspection, and I have insisted as strongly as I could on the same necessity, to every other gentleman who has been nominated.

"I hope His Royal Highness will make all charitable allowance for the defects of provincial reporting. With the most perfect consciousness of the liability to mis-statement, and of the doubtfulness of many parts of the proposal, I have myself tried very hard at every meeting not to appear to overstep the precise facts, but in vain ; there seems a fatality that you *must* be mis-reported. I have felt this ever since the Dublin meeting, and so strongly at Canterbury and Dover, that I spoke at both meetings as if tongue-tied, and I felt quite beaten on seeing the reports. Notwithstanding all my pains, the reporters put things in a way I never did. I quite despair even being able merely to read the cautiously worded minutes without saying a word, and finding the facts correctly stated in the provincial papers, and I assure you that I am very nervous and uncomfortable. Under these circumstances, and feeling the expediency of a somewhat more settled position being taken as early as practicable, I have hastened the preparation of my report, in the hopes that it may be some means of enabling the Prince to bring the proposal into a more defined shape before the public.

"There are several enclosures with this ; a rough proof of my report to receive the benefit of His Royal Highness's suggestions. I have sent the evidence of each individual to the party concerned for correction.

"I enclose a letter from Mr. Cowan, M.P. for Edinburgh, because I doubt the advisability of its insertion, and perhaps there are some parts of the printed evidence which H.R.H. will put a pencil through.

"Also a suggestion of Mr. Wentworth Dilke's ; also an impression of the seal, which is a modification of a seal representing the world encircled by a serpent, used by the Society of Arts for many years.

"The Lord Mayor of London has invited a meeting on Wednes-



day next. I will do my best to represent correctly the wishes of the Prince, and to try and have a correct report. I dare say the Lord Mayor will ask Mr. Jones Loyd to attend, he is so excellent a speaker, and so influential, that I think if you wrote and asked him to see me beforehand, it would be very useful."

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XVIII. Referring to my report on visits, I received the following from Colonel Phipps:—

"Osborne, Oct. 10th, 1849.

"MY DEAR SIR,—The melancholy intelligence contained in the papers of this day<sup>1</sup> will have explained to you the reason which prevented me from answering your letter, or sending sooner to prevent your coming down to Windsor; I hope, however, that this may yet prove in time. The intelligence of poor Anson's sudden death has been a severe shock to Her Majesty and the Prince, and rendered H.R.H. hardly able to attend to business to-day. He has, however, read your report, which is highly interesting, and of which H.R.H. entirely approves, with the exception of one or two alterations which have been made; one is merely verbal, the others have a political tendency in them which H.R.H. thinks might be hurtful to the success of the undertaking. Mr. Cowan's letter, for the same reason, H.R.H. thinks should not be inserted.

"Mr. Dilke's proposal H.R.H. thinks worthy of consideration.

"The seal is approved. The Queen has been stopped from going to Windsor by the urgent advice of the Board of Health,<sup>2</sup> but I will give you the earliest information of the time when you can have an interview with H.R.H.

"You will believe that I am not much up to writing to-day.

"Sincerely yours,

"C. B. PHIPPS."

XIX. After the Prince had heard the opinions of manufacturers and producers in the country, and found public opinion pronounced so favourably on the idea, he decided that it was expedient to hold a meeting in the metropolis, and Colonel Phipps wrote a letter to the Lord Mayor to

City of London  
meeting.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Anson's death. He was the Prince's private secretary.

<sup>2</sup> The drainage had begun to excite alarm in these early days.



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accredit me. At this meeting it was fully understood that reporters would be present; but the Prince impressed upon me the necessity of clearly stating that everything hitherto said and done, was only to be accepted as provisional. The meeting was held at the Mansion House, on the 17th October, and was attended by the Governor and Deputy-Governor of the Bank of England, Mr. Hume, M.P., Mr. John Masterman, M.P., the Lord Mayor Elect, Sir G. Carroll, Sir J. H. Pelley, T. Jones Loyd (afterward Lord Overstone); Messrs. J. Dillon, T. Hankey, Hanbury, Gurney, W. Cotton, Freshfield, Roger Cunliffe; Aldermen Hooper, P. Laurie, Moon, Musgrove, Salomons, Copeland, Gibbs, &c.; Dr. Buckland, &c.<sup>1</sup>

XX. C. W. Dilke, and other Members of Council of the Society of Arts were present, with the Secretary, Mr. Scott Russell; and the Hall was well filled. Mr. Dilke, the grandfather of the present Sir Charles, second Baronet, stationed himself at the end of the Egyptian Hall, in order to signal to me if my voice reached so far, and I believe it was heard. It was my first public speech, and I take the report of it from the "Times" of the 18th October, 1849 :—

Speech of  
H. Cole.

Mr. Henry Cole said—

"My Lord Mayor and Gentlemen, before I submit to you the outlines of the proposal which his Royal Highness Prince Albert has charged us, the members of the Society of Arts, to communicate to the citizens of London, I would ask you to bear in mind

<sup>1</sup> Mr. George Moffatt, whose valuable labours in promoting Uniform Penny Postage I have already recorded, apologized for his absence, and wrote, "I believe it would be difficult to overstate the material benefits likely to accrue from such an exhibition, not to this country alone, but to the whole world. It is scarcely possible to conceive a more interesting and useful combination than that in

view. England is, at this moment, to a large extent, practically ignorant of the arts and manufactures of other countries—other countries equally uninformed as to those of England. The whole world must gain by the diffusion of practical information consequent upon such a gathering as that contemplated, and which, I trust, will have the hearty and active support of the city of London."

that these proceedings are strictly preliminary. His Royal Highness wishes that you should not take anything as absolutely settled with regard to his proposal, beyond the fact that it is intended to have a great exhibition of works of industry; and it is his Royal Highness's desire that we should lay before you the details of the plan—which I shall endeavour to do with all possible brevity—in order that, when the proper time comes, you may be prepared to aid his Royal Highness with your counsel and advice, if you should think fit to carry his proposals into effect. (Hear, hear.)

“This subject, I may observe, has been under the consideration of the Society of Arts, of which his Royal Highness Prince Albert is the President, for the last five years; but, during the last two years, his Royal Highness has been watching the symptoms of public feeling on this question with great intentness, and the members of the council well know that he has on all occasions taken a most active interest, as President of the Society, in furthering the education of the public for appreciating an exhibition of the kind suggested.

“We had this year, at the Society of Arts, the finest exhibition of precious metal work that has, probably, ever been seen in the world; and the chief specimen of that work was sent by Her Majesty herself. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Indeed, so great a point was made by that exhibition, that Prince Albert considered himself warranted in endeavouring to mature his plans for the much more extensive and important exhibition which he contemplated. Accordingly, soon after the termination of the exhibition of the Society of Arts, his Royal Highness commanded the attendance of several members of the council, and of the secretary, at Buckingham Palace, where he explained the details of what he considered should be the chief features of the proposed exhibition. On that occasion his Royal Highness directed that minutes should be kept; and the minutes of that, as well as of subsequent meetings—of which there have been several—have been revised and approved by the Prince himself. (Hear, hear.) I think it is only right that I should mention this circumstance, because it shews that his Royal Highness takes a direct personal interest in the subject (cheers), and that he is not acting in his dry official capacity as President of the Society of Arts. (Hear, hear.) In the course of the observations which I shall address to you, you will see that,

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so far as the plan has proceeded, the Prince has himself considered some of the probable details. It will, I think, conduce to brevity if I read to you some extracts from the minutes taken on the occasions to which I have alluded.

"The first minute is this :—'Buckingham Palace, June 30, 1849. His Royal Highness communicated to the members of the Society of Arts, his views regarding the formation of a great collection of works of industry and art in London in 1851, for the purposes of exhibition and of competition and encouragement.' The first point that then arose for consideration was, whether the subjects of this exhibition should be limited exclusively to the productions of our own country; and I may perhaps be allowed to say that the passage I am now about to read is one which the Prince himself inscribed upon the minutes. (Hear, hear.) 'It was a question whether this exhibition should be exclusively limited to British industry. It was considered that, whilst it appears an error to fix any limitation to the productions of machinery, science, and taste, which are of no country, but belong, as a whole, to the civilized world, particular advantage to British industry might be derived from placing it in fair competition with that of other nations.' (Cheers.)

"That seemed to his Royal Highness to be a fundamental principle to be regarded in any great exposition which this country might undertake, and I may observe that the feeling on that subject, in every part of the country, has been absolutely unanimous. I believe one gentleman only, out of some 600 or 700 whom we have consulted, expressed his opinion that, in the first instance, the exposition should be confined to British industry alone; but when he came to see his opinion put in print for the Prince's perusal, it appeared so very singular that he requested it might be cancelled (a laugh), and in the course of six weeks, therefore, he completely changed his views. (Laughter.)

"If it will not be tedious to the meeting I will read a few passages, which will shew the feeling that has been manifested on this subject. The Lord Provost of Edinburgh said at a meeting that 'he considered the preparation of such an exhibition would direct the minds of the whole world to the peaceful pursuits of industry, and by friendly competition and generous rewards would more closely than ever cement the amicable relations of all the nations



of the earth.' I am reading the words which we took down at the time, and which will shew you the individual and personal feeling exhibited. Messrs. Kershaw and Co., of Manchester, extremely large cotton manufacturers, who weave 1,000,000 miles of cotton yarn weekly, said, 'Open the exhibition to receive the productions of all nations certainly.' Messrs. James Black and Co., of Glasgow, very extensive calico printers, who will be exposed to considerable competition with French goods in the proposed exhibition, said they 'considered it highly desirable to compare our productions not only with those of our countrymen, but with those of foreigners;' and they added, 'The exhibition will be well worth all the money it may cost.' They stated, at the same time, that they did not fear any competition; that they thought great advantage would arise from letting the ladies of Great Britain see that English manufacturers could produce as good articles as the French; and that the contemplated exhibition might serve the cause of morality by preventing English goods from being sold, as was frequently the case, as French manufactures. Mr. Jobson Smith, of Sheffield, a member of the firm of Stuart and Smith, one of the largest steel-grate manufacturers in the world, said he 'thought it most desirable to see the best metal work of all nations, though England would be behind in ornamental metal work.' Messrs. Hoyle and Sons, of Manchester, whose name has a sort of world's reputation for a particular class of fabric, were unanimously agreed that the exhibition ought certainly to be international. 'The Lancashire feeling,' said Alderman Neild, 'eminently is to have a clear stage and no favour, and to shew what Lancashire people can do.' (Laughter and cheers.) The Master of the Merchants' Company at Edinburgh said, rather graphically, that 'he thought the exhibition should be universal, and that its tendency would be to rub the sharp corners of many nations off.' (Hear, hear, and a laugh.) The Rev. Mr. Yate, of Dover, expressed his hope and belief that the proposed exhibition would hasten the period when men shall beat 'their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruninghooks.' (Hear, hear.)

"I think, then, gentlemen, that you will agree with his Royal Highness in the opinion that it is expedient that such an exhibition as is now proposed, should be open to all nations. (Cheers.)

"The next point for consideration was the subjects that should

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be comprehended in the projected exhibition. 'His Royal Highness considered that such collection and exhibition should consist of the following divisions: raw materials, machinery and mechanical inventions, manufactures, sculpture, and plastic art generally.' It must be borne in mind, that the exhibition will not be an assemblage of ordinary productions, but of the very best works, in all their classes, which the world probably can shew. With respect to raw materials, we shall most likely have, from all quarters of the globe, specimens of animal and vegetable life, as well as of minerals,—samples of what is in the earth and of what is produced on the earth. In the class of animal substances, we shall probably have enormous elephants' tusks from Africa and Asia; leather from Morocco and Russia; beaver from Baffin's Bay; the wools of Australia, of Yorkshire, and of Thibet; silk from Asia and from Europe; and furs from the Esquimaux.

"As an evidence of what we may expect from the suggested exposition, I may state that the Court of Directors of the East India Company intend to exhibit the best of everything that India can produce; and we shall therefore probably obtain, by this means, the best practical notion of the value of our East Indian possessions. (Hear, hear.) I will read to the meeting a short extract from a letter addressed to me by the Chairman of the Court of Directors:—

"I beg to inform you that I communicated to the Court of Directors, the conversation which I had with you on the subject of the proposed exhibition of the works of industry which his Royal Highness Prince Albert is desirous to institute in the year 1851. I have the satisfaction of acquainting you, for the information of his Royal Highness, that the Court expressed their entire concurrence in the views which I then suggested, and that they will be prepared to give their cordial co-operation in carrying out the wishes of his Royal Highness, by obtaining from India such specimens of the products and manufactures of that country as may tend to illustrate its resources, and to add to the interest of the great national exhibition of which his Royal Highness is the patron.'

"We have also reason to believe that the Australian Company, and other public companies interested in our colonies, will not be



backward in affording us their co-operation on this occasion. Then, with regard to vegetable productions, which will come under the class of raw materials, we shall have cotton from Asia compared with that from America. We may, perhaps, have corn from the virgin soil of Connemara; for when we were in Ireland Lord Clarendon pointed out to us some corn, observing that if the English people could see it they would be convinced that there were far better 'diggings' in Cork than in California. (Cheers and laughter.) We shall have, also, corn from the shores of the Baltic in competition with that from Ireland and from the counties of England. We shall have spices from the East; the hops of Kent and Sussex, the raisins of Malaga, and the olives of the Pyrenees. An immense impulse will, therefore, be given by this exhibition to the exertions of all the cultivators of raw produce. It is unnecessary that I should go into detail on this subject, and I only allude to it to shew how comprehensive the exposition is intended to be, and how completely all persons, whether as producers or customers, will be interested in it.

"Of mineral productions, we shall have gold from California and from the East Indies; silver from Mexico, Russia, and Cornwall; iron ore from Wales, Wolverhampton, and Tunbridge Wells,—for perhaps many persons do not know that the iron railings round St. Paul's were manufactured near Tunbridge Wells years ago, though the manufacture has now been almost entirely abandoned. Then we shall have clays from Bideford, Truro, and perhaps from Putney,—for near Vauxhall Bridge there is an enormous nest of factories for a certain description of pottery.

"In machinery we shall have the steam-engine in all its endless applications, both to land and water purposes. We shall have marine engines in all their varieties; and we may probably have such machines as Messrs. Whitworth of Manchester have recently constructed, measuring to the fifty-thousandth part<sup>1</sup> of an inch. We may have the looms of the Dacca muslin weaver, and the last

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<sup>1</sup> The measuring machine first exhibited in 1851, demonstrated the millionth part of an inch! and at this time, measuring machines, measuring to the ten-thousandth of an inch, are in practical use in all the great workshops for machinery. There is a letter

of James Watt existing, which states his satisfaction in having constructed an engine where the piston fitted so closely that you could not insert a shilling—whereas now, if necessary, the piston works to the ten-thousandth of an inch.



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new power-looms made by Messrs. Roberts. We shall compare the old spindle, which the Egyptians still use, with the modern flax-wheel from Belfast. An extensive papermaker has said, that, if practicable, he will bring up a machine into which rags will be put at one end, while 20 feet beyond they will come out a large sheet of elephant drawing-board. We shall also have printing-presses of all varieties; and I should not wonder if Messrs. Applegarth were to exhibit a printing-machine like that now used by 'The Times,' which pours forth 10,000 copies of that newspaper per hour. (Hear, hear.)

"I need scarcely dwell on the subject of manufactures, but we may expect to have at our exhibition some of those Indian manufactures which are now almost unknown to us. We now seldom see the manufacture called 'nankeen' in this country. The Indian merchant finds it more profitable to send his raw material here to have it spun and made up and sent back to him, than he did formerly to make it himself and send it to this country for consumption. There are, however, in India and in other parts of the world, a great many indigenous manufactures, which may probably be brought under our notice by the proposed exhibition.

"The next and last department of exposition is that of plastic art and sculpture, which will comprise all that relates to building and architectural art. We may learn from it how much the French are in advance of us in the manufacture of bronzes; but it may be a comfort to us and to others to know that the great bronze manufactories of France have grown up within the last thirty years. (Hear.)

"I now come to the question of site. 'Various sites were suggested,' say the minutes, 'as most suitable for the building, which it was settled must be, on the first occasion at least, a temporary one. The Government had offered the area of Somerset House, or, if that were unfit, a more suitable site on the property of the Crown. His Royal Highness pointed out the vacant ground in Hyde Park, on the south side, parallel with and between the Kensington drive and the ride commonly called Rotten Row, as affording advantages which few other places might be found to possess. Application for this site could be made to the Crown.' The particular advantage of this site, according to the views of the Prince—and I believe you will all concur with them—was that high and

low, rich and poor, would have an equally good access (hear, hear); and that those who rode down in omnibuses, and those who went in their private carriages, would have equal facilities of approach. (Cheers.)

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"It was next settled that it might be expedient to give large prizes to the competitors. You are aware that foreign governments are accustomed, for important inventions, to give the inventors large prizes; and it was considered that, in order to induce the whole world to enter into this sort of amicable competition, large prizes would be necessary. We thought, therefore, that we might with certainty say that £20,000 worth of prizes will be offered to the world at the proposed exhibition. How that sum may be apportioned will be a matter for subsequent consideration. It is proposed to organize an executive to carry out the plan in co-operation with the Government, and all the details with regard to the prizes will have to be settled by that executive.

"The next question, and it is an important one, is HOW THE FUNDS ARE TO BE RAISED. I need not trouble you with the details of the discussions which have taken place in the council on this subject; but the result was that Prince Albert, as well as the council of the Society, came to the conclusion that the best course would be to leave the contributions optional, rather than to obtain the required amount by compulsory taxation. We all know that in other countries, projects of this kind have been carried out by the governments; but we also know that in other countries, governments are accustomed to do many things which I, for one, believe that the English people do much better for themselves than any government can do for them. (Hear.)

"I believe that no public works are ever executed by any foreign government which can vie for magnificence, completeness, and perfection, with those that our countrymen execute for themselves. (Hear, hear.) I will briefly read to you one or two expressions of opinion on this subject. I may first observe that the feeling was nearly unanimous, wherever we have been, that it would be better to let every one who chose subscribe from 2s. 6d. upwards, than to ask the Government to defray the expense of the exhibition. It is true that there was a little mixed feeling in Scotland. (A laugh.) A most eminent manufacturer of Paisley said he considered that, 'as this is a great national work, intended for a great national



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benefit, its stability, as well as the confidence of the public, will be greatly secured by Government bearing a moiety of the expenses.' A similar feeling was manifested by many gentlemen present. I do not think that proposition has yet been made to the Government, and I am not able to say how willingly they would receive it. The feeling of the Society of Arts and of Prince Albert is, that it would be far nobler for the English people to do the thing well for themselves, as far as they can, rather than ask the Government for assistance. (Hear, and cheers.) There seems to be a notion that some Scotchmen would like the Government to pay for the projected exposition; but Mr. Hannan, of Glasgow, says, 'The less we have to do with the Government money the better;' and I met in my travels a lady of upwards of 80 years of age, who said she would not be able to come to the exhibition, but that she was ready to give a crown towards the object, provided that nothing came from the taxes. (A laugh and cheers.) The Lord Provost of Glasgow considered that the exhibition would be more popular if there were no public money required. Mr. S. R. Lushington observed, at the Canterbury meeting, 'that he was glad to understand the exhibition was to be voluntarily supported; for that, had it been determined to seek the aid of the Government, he believed the public would have felt themselves relieved from the necessity of assisting, and, regarding the exhibition as a part of compulsory taxation, would have looked upon it much less favourably.' I think, if a proposal for supporting such an exposition by public money were brought forward in the House of Commons, there would almost inevitably be a division on the question.

"I conceive, therefore, that the best plan is to leave the public to do just what they please in the matter; those who approve the object will subscribe, and those who consider that it will not affect them or their interests, will not be compelled to give us their aid. I hope, therefore, that the meeting will agree with what, I believe, are entirely the views of his Royal Highness in this matter—that the whole of this great undertaking should be carried out by funds subscribed voluntarily. (Hear, hear.) We have no doubt of getting the money. (Hear.) They said in Dublin—said enthusiastically—that they thought the easiest part of the matter would be to get £150,000, or even £200,000; but that is not altogether an opinion peculiar to Irishmen, for I had the honour of an interview



yesterday with a gentleman who has one of the longest heads in the City of London, as he certainly is one of the richest men in it, and he said that he was sure there would be no difficulty with respect to money or anything of that kind, but he thought it would be very difficult to prevent this exhibition from being ingulfed by its own magnitude. (Hear, hear.) He thought there would be no difficulty in getting the money, everybody would be so interested in such a thing; every merchant or trader would see that he would get a direct and obvious benefit from the exhibition. (Hear, hear.)

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"Then, the funds being forthcoming—of which we have no doubt—it is proposed that the Government should be asked to *appoint a royal commission* to arrange the disposal of a certain portion of the funds, that portion which is to be allotted for prizes, with the utmost impartiality. The Society of Arts felt that it would not do for them, as a private corporation, to undertake the very delicate task of distributing £20,000 in prizes; and, therefore, it is proposed to ask the Government to nominate such a commission as it shall think suitable, for the purpose of securing the best advice in the distribution of the prizes, in order that tribunals for awarding them may be appointed which shall be above all suspicion, as far as human ingenuity can make them so. (Hear.) The duties and powers of this commission would be to determine the nature of the prizes, and the selection of the subjects for which they are to be offered. Of course those gentlemen who have been about the country to make the matter known, have been more or less obliged, in order to embody the idea, to hint at the class of prizes in view; but I would wish you to remember that the time will come when all who are interested will be asked to give their best advice in this matter, and that no part of the question of prizes can be considered as settled, beyond the fact that £20,000 are to be given. (Hear, hear.) The Society of Arts has organised the means of getting these funds. (Hear, hear.) I shall read to you only one extract with relation to this part of the subject:—'The prizes proposed to be submitted for the consideration of the commission to be medals, with money prizes. It was proposed that the first prize should be £5,000, and that one, at least, of £1,000 should be given in each of the four sections. Medals conferred by the Queen would very much enhance the value of the prizes.' (Hear, hear.)

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We are not privileged to say more than that, but that, perhaps, will be sufficient to show the interest which we may hope that our Sovereign will take in the subject. (Hear, hear.)

"I end with this statement, gentlemen, without attempting to advocate the merits of the proposition before you ; standing here, as we do, to represent the views of the Prince, we have thought it would be most becoming to appear as little as possible as partisans ; we have laid before you what is the proposal of the Prince, and we leave you to deal with it as you think fit. (Hear, hear.) I will only say, that if there is a place in the world interested in the matter, it is London. I think we may expect some hundred thousand people to come flowing into London from all parts of the world, by railways and steamboats, to see this great exhibition. I think we may calculate on the advent of foreign merchants who may want to buy, pleasure-seekers in abundance, and men of science anxious to see what has been done. In short, London will act the part of host to all the world at an intellectual festival of peaceful industry, suggested by the Consort of our beloved Queen and seconded by yourselves—a festival, such as the world never before has seen."

Mr. Cole resumed his seat amidst much cheering from all parts of the hall.

XXI. Mr. W. G. Prescott, of Messrs. Grotes, proposed a vote of thanks to Prince Albert for his proposal, which Mr. Dillon, of Messrs. Morrison's, seconded. Mr. Hume, M.P., an old Vice-President of the Society of Arts for more than twenty-five years, proposed :—

"That the cost of the Exhibition should be provided by voluntary subscriptions, and not by the general taxation of the country, and that a Royal Commission is necessary to invest the undertaking with a National sanction, and to give the world the utmost confidence that the prizes will be awarded impartially."

Mr. Alderman Salomons seconded the resolution. Mr. Masterman, M.P., proposed the formation of a Committee consisting of the merchants, bankers, and traders of the metropolis, to promote the proposal of His Royal Highness,



to consist of the following gentlemen :—The Lord Mayor ; the Lord Mayor Elect ; the Aldermen ; the Governor of the Bank of England ; the Deputy-Governor of the Bank of England ; the Chairman of the East India Company ; the Deputy Chairman of the East India Company ; S. Jones Loyd, Esq. ; G. C. Glyn, Esq., M.P. ; J. Masterman, Esq., M.P. ; Baron Rothschild, M.P. ; J. Dillon, Esq. ; R. Currie, Esq., M.P. ; the Sheriffs ; J. Hume, Esq., M.P. ; Baron Goldsmid ; G. Moffatt, Esq., M.P. ; T. Baring, Esq., M.P. ; M. Forster, Esq., M.P. ; W. Cotton, Esq. ; S. Gurney, Esq. ; R. L. Jones, Esq. ; W. Tite, Esq., F.R.S. ; A. Caldecott, Esq. ; R. Williams, Esq. ; J. Bates, Esq. ; with power to add to their number ; and that the Rev. S. R. Cattley and Mr. D. W. Wire be the Honorary Secretaries of such Committee. Sir Henry Pelly, Chairman of the Hudson Bay Company, seconded this resolution. Mr. W. Cotton proposed, and Mr. Alderman Copeland seconded, that the proceedings be advertised in the newspapers. Mr. Tooke, the senior Vice-President of the Society of Arts, proposed, and Mr. C. W. Dilke seconded, the vote of thanks to the Lord Mayor, and the proceedings terminated. The next day Colonel Phipps wrote "Your meeting in the City appears to have been most successful."

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#### INCIDENTS BEFORE THE APPOINTMENT OF ROYAL COMMISSION.

XXII. Although I took no part in seeking for the capital necessary to carry out the Exhibition, I recognized the absolute necessity of insuring an amount that would secure the Exhibition, and protect the personal responsibility of H. R. H.<sup>1</sup> (See Vol. II., pp. 218 and 220.) From what had

A Contract  
necessary.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Cobden declared he would oppose any Parliamentary Grant to support the Exhibition. He spoke at the meeting at Marylebone, 2nd May, 1850 :—"A good deal had been said with regard to the prince who had



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passed, it was hopeless to expect the Government to find the funds, and even the event, when perfectly successful, proved this, as the uttermost farthing was charged against the Exhibition by the Home Office for the extra police, notwithstanding the benefit to the revenue conferred by the Exhibition. A member of the Council of the Society of Arts,<sup>1</sup> found capitalist contractors, Messrs. Munday, who undertook to bear the risk of the preliminary expenses, and actually deposited a sum of £20,000. The contract was made between the Society of Arts and Messrs. James

been so much concerned in the formation of this project. (Hear.) He (Mr. Cobden) would not flatter anybody, but he would say, that having sat at the same board with His Royal Highness, he could speak of his efforts, not as a prince, but as a working man. (Cheers.) There was no one in the number of the Commissioners—not one member of the Board—that had done one-half the labour towards carrying out this Exhibition (renewed cheers); and he (Mr. Cobden) would venture to say that, whether Prince Albert were well supported in his scheme or not, he had before him to the 1st of May next, as great an amount of anxiety, of labour, and of perplexing toil, as any working man in this kingdom. (Great cheering.) He (Mr. Cobden) could appreciate the advantages of the Prince having given the initiative to this scheme. His wise abstinence from the political questions and parties of the day (hear, hear), pointed him out as the only man in this kingdom who could have brought together the heterogeneous elements which surrounded the council board of the Royal Commissioners. He (Mr. Cobden) sat at the same table with Lord Stanley, Sir R. Peel, and Mr. Gladstone, and they all acted in per-

fect harmony on the subject of the Exhibition; but that could not be but by the sanction of the Prince. He (Mr. Cobden) felt no doubt whatever of the perfect success of that project; he felt no doubt that, as the money was found—and it would be found in abundance—the Exhibition would be triumphant, and would leave them a surplus for a future Exhibition. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) And though he had only spoken to them of its material results, he assured them he looked upon it in its moral aspects as of far greater consequence (hear, hear); and he would rather have his name associated, as Prince Albert would have his, with the great Industrial Exhibition of 1851, than be the Eugene or Marlborough of history, celebrated only for their triumphs on the battle-field. (Cheers.) The great fault, or rather misfortune, of men had always been that they did not know each other. (Hear, hear.) And why? Because they had not had that intercourse which nature and nature's God intended that they should have with one another. (Cheers.) He was thankful, therefore, for any excuse that withdrew men from their isolation. (Hear.)"

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Francis Fuller.

and George Munday, for fully carrying out the Exhibition according to the plan approved by the Prince Consort. At a very early stage of the business, I had felt the great likelihood that as the idea became understood, public opinion would prefer some other mode of carrying out the Exhibition than by a contract.<sup>1</sup> But at the time, as Mr. Herbert Minton remarked to me, the contract was the right thing to have had made. During the negotiations, I suggested that the contractors should be asked to agree to the insertion of a clause to the effect that the contract might be dissolved by arbitration if the Royal Commission desired it. The Prince cordially concurred in this suggestion, and Col. Phipps wrote a letter (on the 10th December) for publication, in answer to that of Mr. Drew, expressing pleasure at the contractors' liberality in assenting to the insertion of this clause. (See Vol. II., p. 224.) A statement of proceedings preliminary to the Exhibition of Industry of all Nations, 1851, was prepared by Mr. Scott Russell, and sets forth, "There still, however, remained some members of the Council, who believed that the Government ought to, and would come in aid of the undertaking after it should have met with public favour, and its success should have become probable. Among these was Mr. Cole. He proposed that it should remain open to the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury to take the place of the capitalist contractors, and adopt the undertaking as their own, compensating the contractors (under arbitration) for their previous expenses and risks. . . . The time of such adoption by the Treasury being fixed upon the 1st of February, 1850."

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Government  
intervention.

<sup>1</sup> It was drawn up by Messrs. Tooke, Son, and Hallows, Solicitors for the Society of Arts, and by Mr. George H. Drew, Solicitor for the Contractors,

and was signed and sealed by order of the Council, E. Speer, Chairman of the Council, attesting, 7th November, 1849.



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Willingness  
of Contractors  
to arbitrate.

The following is an extract from the Minutes of the Executive Committee of the Exhibition :—"The Prince inquired whether Mr. Cole was prepared to report on the willingness of the contractors to place a limit on their profits, and was informed that the contractors had stated they were disposed to entertain at all times any wishes of His Royal Highness and to refer them to arbitration. His Royal Highness expressed his great satisfaction at this proof of confidence, and thought it expedient that the contractors should write a letter to accompany the deeds, agreeing that the Council of the Society of Arts should have power to determine the contract by arbitration on the 31st of March, or at any time His Royal Highness might think desirable. Resolved—That a copy of the Minute entered on Friday last, referring to the contract, be officially sent to Mr. Drew, with a request that he obtain an answer to it from the contractors as early as possible." Mr. Drew addressed his answer to the Prince on the 7th December, 1849. It explains so clearly the whole transaction, so creditable to the contractors, that I quote it. (See Vol. II., p. 221.)

Contract

Executive  
Committee.

XXIII. An Executive Committee was appointed by the Council of the Society of Arts, to carry into effect the contract above alluded to. This Committee, which was afterwards confirmed in Her Majesty's Commission of the 3rd January, 1850, consisted of the following Members: Mr. Robert Stephenson, Mr. Henry Cole, Mr. C. Wentworth Dilke, Mr. F. Fuller, Mr. G. Drew, Mr. M. Digby Wyatt (Secretary). Of these, Mr. Drew had been nominated by Messrs. Munday to represent their interests, according to a provision in the contract.

XXIV. At the first meeting of the Commissioners, on the 11th January, 1850, they passed a resolution, "That it is expedient to cancel the contract with the Messrs. Mun-



day," and the statement of the reasons for this decision were given and published. The subject of the remuneration was referred to Mr. Robert Stephenson, M.P., for arbitration, and the award was £5,120, with costs of £587.

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#### PREPARATION OF ROYAL COMMISSION.

XXV. The Government consented to the issue of a Royal Commission which the Prince had asked for. The preparation of it was confided to me. I was summoned to Windsor on the 24th October, 1849, when the Prince gave his views about the nature of the Commission. He proposed that there should be one Secretary representing the Government, and one the Society of Arts, and that the Executive should be named in the Commission. The Prince commissioned me to ascertain if the Duke of Richmond, the leader of the Protectionists, and representing the agricultural interest, would allow himself to be named on the Commission; and I saw him on the 7th December, 1849, at Portland Place. He said he would consult the Marquis of Downshire and Lord Chichester, which his Grace did, but he finally declined. Lord Derby, the fourteenth Earl, consented to be a Commissioner. The Prince was in constant communication with Mr. Labouchere, who from time to time sent for me to discuss progress. On the 15th December, he summoned me, and the names of the Commissioners were finally settled. Mr. Labouchere accepted a suggestion that the Presidents of the Geological Society, of the Institute of Civil Engineers, and of the Royal Academy should be named on the Commission.

Issue of  
Royal Com-  
mission.

Duke of  
Richmond  
invited to  
be a Com-  
missioner.

Commission  
completed,

XXVI. On the 3rd January, 1850, the Commission was published in the Gazette as follows. It represented all classes of society, Peers, Privy Councillors, Science, Art, and Manufacture:—

Commission  
publish

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“ *VICTORIA R.*

“ VICTORIA, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith ; to

“ Our most dearly beloved Consort, *His Royal Highness Francis Albert Augustus Charles Emanuel Duke of Saxony,<sup>1</sup> Prince of Saxe Coburg and Gotha*, Knight of Our Most Noble Order of the Garter, and Field Marshal in Our Army ;

“ Our right trusty and right entirely-beloved Cousin and Councillor, *Walter Francis Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry*, Knight of Our Most Noble Order of the Garter ;

“ Our right trusty and right well-beloved Cousin *William Earl of Rosse*, Knight of the Our Most Illustrious Order of Saint Patrick ;

“ Our right trusty and right well-beloved Cousins and Councillors *Granville George Earl Granville*,

“ and *Francis Earl of Ellesmere* ; Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor *Edward Geoffrey Lord Stanley* (afterwards fourteenth Earl of Derby) ;

“ Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillors *John Russell* (commonly called Lord John Russell),

“ *Sir Robert Peel*, Baronet, *Henry Labouchere* (afterwards Lord Taunton), and *William Ewart Gladstone* ;

“ Our trusty and well-beloved *Sir Archibald Galloway*, Knight Commander of Our Most Honourable Order of the Bath, and Major-General in Our Army in the East Indies, Chairman of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, or the Chairman of the Court of Directors of the East India Company for the time being ;

“ *Sir Richard Westmacott*, Knight, R.A. ;

“ *Sir Charles Lyell*, Knight, President of the Geological Society of London, or the President of the Geological Society of London for the time being ;

“ *Thomas Baring*, Esquire ;

“ *Charles Barry*, Esquire, R.A. ;

“ *Thomas Bazley*, Esquire (of Manchester), (afterwards Sir Thomas, Bart.) ;

“ *Richard Cobden*, Esquire (of Manchester) ;

“ *William Cubitt*, Esquire (afterwards Sir William), President of the Institution of Civil Engineers, or the President of the Institution of Civil Engineers for the time being ;

<sup>1</sup> The names of Commissioners and others no longer alive, are printed in italics.



"*Charles Lock Eastlake*, Esquire (afterwards Sir Charles, President of the Royal Academy of Arts).

"*Thomas Field Gibson*, Esquire (of Spitalfields);

"*John Gott*, Esquire (of Leeds);

"*Samuel Jones Loyd*, Esquire (afterwards Lord Overstone);

"*Philip Pusey*, Esquire (Agriculture); and *William Thompson*, Esquire, Alderman (Shipping), greeting.<sup>1</sup>

"Whereas the Society for the Promotion of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, incorporated by Our Royal Charter, of which Our most dearly beloved Consort, the Prince Albert, is President, have of late years instituted Annual Exhibitions of the Works of British Art and Industry, and have proposed to establish an Enlarged Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations, to be holden in London in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-one, at which prizes and medals, to the value of at least twenty thousand pounds sterling, shall be awarded to the exhibitors of the most meritorious works then brought forward; and have invested in the names of Our right trusty and entirely-beloved Cousin *Spencer Joshua Alwyne Marquess of Northampton*, Our right trusty and right well-beloved Cousin and Councillor *George William Frederick, Earl of Clarendon*, Knight of Our Most Noble Order of the Garter, Our trusty and well-beloved *Sir John Peter Boileau*, Baronet, and *James Courthorpe Peache*, Esquire, the sum of twenty thousand pounds, to be awarded in prizes and medals as aforesaid; and have appointed Our trusty and well-beloved *Arthur Kett Barclay*, Esquire, *William Cotton*, Esquire, *Sir John William Lubbock*, Baronet, *Samuel Morton Peto*, Esquire, and *Baron Lionel de Rothschild*, to be the Treasurers for all receipts arising from donations, subscriptions or any other source, on behalf of or towards the said Exhibition; Our trusty and well-beloved *Peter Le Neve Foster*, *Joseph Payne*, and *Thomas Winkworth*,<sup>2</sup>

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1849-1852.  
Part I.

Trustees.

Treasurers.

Executive.

<sup>1</sup> At this date, April, 1882, only six out of twenty-four Commissioners are alive.

<sup>2</sup> Scott Russell had requested Mr. Winkworth to advocate the International idea, and this minute has been interpreted to mean that Mr. Winkworth was the first to suggest it:—

"Mr. Winkworth did not consider that the Exhibition would answer if confined to the manufacturers of England; it must be on a large scale if thrown open to the world to exhibit and compete for prizes, etc.; then all Europe would come over to England, English manufacturers would exhibit,



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Esquires, to be the Treasurers for payment of all executive expenses; and Our trusty and well-beloved *Henry Cole*,<sup>1</sup> *Charles Wentworth Dilke* the younger (afterwards Sir Wentworth, Bart.), George Drew, Francis Fuller, and *Robert Stephenson*, Esquires,<sup>2</sup> with Our trusty and well-beloved *Matthew Digby Wyatt*, Esquire (afterwards Sir Matthew), as their Secretary, to be an Executive Committee for carrying the said Exhibition into effect, under the directions of Our most dearly beloved Consort;

"And whereas the said Society for the Promotion of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, have represented unto Us, that, in carrying out the objects proposed by the said Exhibition, many questions may arise regarding the introduction of productions into Our Kingdom from Our Colonies and from Foreign Countries; also regarding the site for the said Exhibition, and the best mode of conducting the said Exhibition; likewise regarding the determination of the nature of the prizes, and the means of securing the most impartial distribution of them; and have also besought Us that We would be graciously pleased to give Our Sanction to this Undertaking, in order that it may have the confidence, not only of all classes of Our subjects, but of the subjects of Foreign Countries:

Authority.

"Now know ye, that We, considering the premises, and earnestly desiring to promote the proposed Exhibition, which is calculated to be of great benefit to Arts, Agriculture, Manufactures, and Commerce, and reposing great trust and confidence in your fidelity, discretion, and integrity, have authorized and appointed, and by these presents do authorize and appoint, you Our most dearly beloved Consort Francis ALBERT Augustus Charles Emanuel Duke of Saxony, Prince of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, you Walter Francis Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, William Earl of Rosse, Granville George Earl Granville, Francis Earl of Ellesmere, Edward Geoffrey Lord Stanley, John Russell (commonly called Lord John Russell), Sir Robert Peel, Henry Labouchere, William Ewart Gladstone, Sir Archibald Galloway, or the Chairman of the Court of Directors of the East India Company for the time being, Sir Richard West-

and the Exhibition would become of great value as the National Fair of all Europe."—*Extracts from Council Minute, July 17th, 1849.*

<sup>1</sup> My father died 18th April, 1882.

—ED.

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards made a Commissioner.

macott, Sir Charles Lyell, or the President of the Geological Society for the time being, Thomas Baring, Charles Barry, Thomas Bazley, Richard Cobden, William Cubitt, or the President of the Institution of Civil Engineers for the time being, Charles Lock Eastlake, Thomas Field Gibson, John Gott, Samuel Jones Loyd, Philip Pusey, and William Thompson, to make full and diligent inquiry into the best mode by which the productions of Our Colonies and of Foreign Countries may be introduced into Our Kingdom; as respects the most suitable site for the said Exhibition; the general conduct of the said Exhibition; and also into the best mode of determining the nature of the prizes, and of securing the most impartial distribution of them.

"And to the end that Our Royal Will and Pleasure in the said inquiry may be duly prosecuted, and with expedition, We further, by these presents, will and command, and do hereby give full power and authority to you, or any three or more of you, to nominate and appoint such several persons of ability as you may think fit to be Local Commissioners, in such parts of Our Kingdom and in Foreign Parts as you may think fit, to aid you in the premises; which said Local Commissioners, or any of them, shall and may be removed by you, or any three or more of you, from time to time, at your will and pleasure, full power and authority being hereby given to you, or any three or more of you to appoint others in their places respectively:

"And, furthermore, We do, by these presents, give and grant to you, or any three or more of you, full power and authority to call before you, or any three or more of you, all such persons as you shall judge necessary by whom you may be the better informed of the truth of the premises, and to inquire of the premises, and every part of thereof, by all lawful ways and means whatsoever.

"And Our further Will and Pleasure is that, for the purpose of aiding you in the execution of these premises, We hereby appoint Our trusty and well-beloved *John Scott Russell*<sup>1</sup> and Stafford Henry Northcote,<sup>2</sup> Esquires, to be joint Secretaries to this Our Commission.

"And for carrying into effect what you shall direct to be done in respect of the said Exhibition, We hereby appoint the said

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Part I.

Introduction  
of Foreign  
and Colonial  
objects.

Prizes.

Appointment  
of Local  
Commis-  
sioners.

Secretaries.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Scott Russell died 8th June, 1882.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards Sir Stafford, Bart.



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Executive  
Committee.

Henry Cole, Charles Wentworth Dilke the younger, George Drew, Francis Fuller, and Robert Stephenson, to be the Executive Committee in the premises, and the said Matthew Digby Wyatt to be Secretary of the said Executive Committee.

“And Our further Will and Pleasure is that you, or any three or more of you, when and so often as need or occasion shall require, so long as this Our Commission shall continue in force, do report to Us, in writing, under your hands and seals respectively, all and every of the several proceedings of yourselves had by virtue of these presents, together with such other matters, if any, as may be deserving of Our Royal Consideration touching or concerning the premises.

And, lastly, We do by these presents ordain that this Our Commission shall continue in full force and virtue, and that you, Our said Commissioners, or any three or more of you, shall and may, from time to time, and at any place or places, proceed in the execution thereof, and of every matter and thing therein continued, although the same be not continued from time to time by adjournment.

“Given at our Court at Saint James's, the Third day of January, 1850, in the Thirteenth year of Our Reign.

“By Her Majesty's Command,

“G. GREY.”

XXVII. The necessity of an Executive Committee and of obtaining public subscriptions, were amongst the first matters which forced themselves upon the attention of the newly appointed Commission (see Vol. II., pp. 225 and 227), and the Prince took an early occasion of indicating his confidence in his executive. On the 3rd January, 1850, at Windsor, H.R.H. discussed with me the prospective working of the Commission. He said, “Act so that they should find the want of you.” “I must beg of you to give submissiveness.” And he went on to liken the position of the Executive Committee to that of Frederick the Great asking his general, Lutzen, how he would fight a battle;—the general answered, “Let it arise, and then he would show him.”



XXVIII. After the issue of the Royal Commission, however, my relations with the Prince were of necessity altogether changed. Up to that time I had had the privilege of being consulted by him on all occasions, for several months. The Prince relinquished his individual responsibilities, and placed himself more or less in the hands of the Government, acting by the advice especially of Earl Granville, who worked as his Deputy and as Chairman both of the Finance Committee and of the Royal Commissioners, among whom was Sir Robert Peel, who attended up to the day of his death. Under these circumstances, I drew up the following resolutions, which are printed in the Commissioners' minutes of their fourth meeting.

"That the members of the Executive Committee are of opinion that the dissolution by the Royal Commission of the contract, which they had been appointed for the purpose of carrying out, has changed the nature of their functions, and even superseded many of them. They are of opinion, therefore, that it is desirable that the Royal Commission should be left as free to select the best organization for carrying their intentions into effect, as if the Executive Committee had never been appointed. They feel, therefore, that they should not be acting in accordance with their sincere wishes of witnessing the perfect success of the Exhibition, if they did not come forward to express their entire readiness at once to place their position in the hands of His Royal Highness the Prince Albert and the Royal Commissioners."

Mr. Robert Stephenson resigned his Chairmanship of the Executive Committee. Mr. Labouchere, the President of the Board of Trade, selected Colonel Reid, R.E., commanding the Engineers at Woolwich, to take his place. He was appointed on the 7th February, and requested to attend the meetings of the Commission, which he always did. Writing now, thirty years and more after the event, I wish to record that this was a prudent and successful appointment, and that no

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Resignation  
of Mr. R.  
Stephenson  
as Chairman  
of Executive  
Committee.  
Appoint-  
ment of Col.  
Reid, R.E.

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better could have been made for the particular duty, which was chiefly to keep in order the various influences which had helped to produce the Exhibition. (See Vol. II., p. 226.)

XXIX. A new executive Committee was soon constituted, and the work devolved upon C. W. Dilke and myself, acting under Colonel Reid. He was a brave soldier, and had much more than a mere soldier's sense of implicit duty. He was a man of great caution, and yet determined self-will, especially when conscience acted on him. He was a man of science; he was a philanthropist, with beneficent tendencies; he had instituted most useful works and Exhibitions of Industry in the West Indies; he fully believed in the superior abilities of his corps, the Royal Engineers, and by introducing them to the work of the Exhibition did excellent service to it. He was very simple-minded, gentle, and with feelings of high honour, perhaps a little bordering on severity at times. His principal work in the Exhibition was pouring oil on troubled water. Some one who knew him, wrote in a Colonial newspaper:—

“It was curious to see the enraged and frantic exhibitor (the foreigner particularly) swearing at the injustice and favouritism which had consigned his article to some obscure corner or some bad light, or some other fancied disadvantage, pass into the presence of the Chairman of the Executive Committee, and presently emerge all cheerfulness and contentment. It almost seemed as if he had passed through some talismanic process to have undergone the change, but such was the wonderful tact and temper of the Chairman, that nobody ever left him otherwise than pleased and convinced that justice had been done to him.”

I recollect his marble attitude towards an indignant maker of agricultural implements, a stalwart Quaker, who fiercely threatened to write to the “Times,” but was reduced to the submission of a child. The proofs of what I have stated are



so interesting that I introduce a short memoir of his career, and rejoice to have the opportunity of recording it.<sup>1</sup>

XXX. Dilke and myself had been pressed to remain on

<sup>1</sup> No sufficient life of Sir William Reid has been published, and it has yet to be written. Meanwhile I do my best to supply its place by adapting parts of notices written at the time of his death in 1858. The fullest and best account is given in the "Proceedings of the Royal Society" for 30th November, 1858:—

"Major-General Sir William Reid, K.C.B., was born on the 25th of April, 1791; his father (the Rev. James Reid) was a Minister of the Established Church of Scotland, at Kinglassie, in Fife, and with slight previous advantages of education, he was sent, soon after he entered his fifteenth year, to the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich. Young Reid made rapid progress, completed his course of study before he had attained his eighteenth year, and was sent, as was at that time the custom, to the Ordnance Survey, then directed by Colonel Mudge, Royal Artillery: in February, 1809, he was commissioned in the Royal Engineers. Lieutenant Reid joined the army of Wellington in 1810, was present at the first unsuccessful siege of Badajoz in April, 1811, and at the final capture of that fortress twelve months later. Early and continuously conspicuous for his zeal, intelligence and energy, even among the very many young officers of Engineers who greatly distinguished themselves in that war, he took part, while yet a subaltern, in the sieges of Ciudad Rodrigo, Burgos, and St. Sebastian, in each of which he was wounded, and in the battles of Salamanca, Vittoria, Nivelle, Nive, and Toulouse." The "New York Tribune" recorded that "In the sanguinary assault upon the

fortress of St. Sebastian he headed one of the storming parties, was wounded by a musket-ball, and fell covered with blood, which streamed from his mouth and nostrils. He was supposed to be dead, but on removing from his neck a black silk handkerchief (which by advice of a medical friend he had unwillingly assumed, instead of the stiff military stock), it was found pressed into the wound, and on using a little force to withdraw it, the ball came out with it, not a thread of the handkerchief having been severed. The removal of the handkerchief revived him, but the surgeons on examination pronounced the wound mortal. Contrary to their expectation he recovered. He was wounded four times during the war, and had three horses shot under him. After the conclusion of the peace with France, he served on the coast of America under General Lambert until the conclusion of the war here, when he rejoined the Duke of Wellington in Belgium in 1815." An official report of services of Royal Engineers states that "He was senior officer of the corps attached to a division of the army under the Duke of Wellington in five general actions. He afterwards served at the capture of Paris, 1815." I recollect his telling me how, after the battle of Waterloo, he cut the roads entering Paris and made the inhabitants supply their furniture as fuel for fires, so as to make the ditches impassable, lest the French army should attempt to pass them. "He did not obtain his Captaincy until 1814.

"He was present at the bombardment of Algiers under Lord Exmouth in 1816."

A Barbadoes newspaper relates that,

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Sir William  
Reid.



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the Executive, and we had agreed to do so. The Finance Committee recorded that we "had communicated to the Chairman of the Committee our entire readiness to continue in

"Twenty years of peace had well-nigh exhausted his natural energy of disposition, when he sought and obtained a command under Sir De Lacy Evans in the ill-fated British Auxiliary Expedition to Spain, where we believe he was knocked about in a way that happily for us and for science disgusted him with such soldiering, at least as was found with the Legion."

"Ever ready, however, as he was, to follow the leadings of his own profession, his active mind was not less alive to its scientific interests. He was the contributor of nine papers to the 'Professional Papers' of the Royal Engineers, usually on technical subjects; but sometimes on subjects, such as the movement of the shingle along our coasts, which are more nearly related to his favourite studies. It was in 1832 that his mind first received the bias which he afterwards followed with so much distinction and success. It fell to his lot, as the officer of Engineers at Barbadoes, to have to re-establish the Government buildings blown down in the hurricane of the 10th August, 1831: no less than 1,477 persons out of a population of about 130,000 lost their lives on that occasion, and property to the value of more than £1,600,000 was destroyed. The devastation and misery he witnessed, led him, in his own words, 'to search everywhere for accounts of previous storms, in the hope of learning something of their causes and mode of action.' In this he was materially assisted by the previous labours of Mr. Redfield of New York, who, as early as 1831, had published in the 'American Journal of Science' the first of a numerous series of papers in which he

demonstrated, not only that the storms of the American coast were whirlwinds, in opposition to high authorities, who maintained that the direction of the wind is rectilinear, but also traced some of them from the West Indies to the sea-board of the United States, and proved that they were progressive whirlwinds, moving forward on curved tracks with a considerable velocity. Fully acknowledging his obligations to this great meteorologist, Lieut.-Colonel Reid set himself to confirm and extend his deductions, by a laborious collation of the log-books of British men-of-war and merchantmen. Impressed also with the idea that to the south of the equator, 'in accordance with the regularity nature follows in all her laws, storms would be found to move in a directly contrary direction,' he endeavoured to collect such facts as would aid further inquiry on that subject. None but those who have attempted a like task can fully appreciate its difficulties,—observations which the investigator dare not reject, although convinced that they are wrong, provoking silence where a word would clear up a doubt,—still more provoking record of useless details, to the omission of those that are important; nevertheless he persevered, and, gaining confidence in the key he had obtained to the real nature of these intricate phenomena, he ventured in 1838 to lay down, for the guidance of the seaman, those broad general rules of navigation which are known as the law of storms. He showed that it is possible to deduce from the facts, rules applicable to every emergency; to tell unerringly when ships must run before the hurricane, when they must

the service of the Commission, and give the whole of our time and energies to the successful working of the Exhibition." Dilke consented, and wrote a letter to Lord

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lie to, and on which tack, so as to avoid being taken aback by the veering of the wind; lastly, how to anticipate its coming changes, and shape the course which best turns them to account. The announcement of this law, so important to the mariner, and to every naval and commercial nation, was received with the greatest interest by the scientific world; and Lieut.-Colonel Reid's work, entitled 'An Attempt to develop the Laws of Storms,' has gone through several editions, and has been translated even into Chinese." "In 1838," states the "New York Tribune," "he received, unsolicited, the appointment of Governor of Bermuda. On his arrival there in 1839, he found agriculture far behind; corn and hay were imported; there was but little fruit; bitter citron trees grew everywhere; and in sight of the Government House was a wide swamp. Colonel Reid set the example of improvement. He grafted a sweet orange on a bitter citron tree in the front of the Government House; it bore good fruit, and soon all the bitter trees were grafted. He drained the swamp, imported ploughs and other improved agricultural implements from New York, had ploughing taught, gave prizes for the best productions, and in 1846 held a grand agricultural *fête* in a fine dry meadow field—the old swamp. In fact he gave new spirit to the people, showed them how to work out their own prosperity, changed the face of the island, took great interest in promoting popular education, in diffusing temperance tracts, and so won the title of 'the good governor,' by which he is still affectionately remembered in Bermuda. In one of

the volumes of Dickens's 'Household Words,' the praises of this 'model Governor,' may be found set forth. In 1846 he was transferred to the Windward West India Islands, comprising Barbadoes, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Grenada, Tobago. There also by his firm and beneficent conduct, he gained the confidence and good will of the entire population, and devoted himself, as he had done at Bermuda, to the welfare of his people and to their advancement in agriculture, education and temperance." "Happening at the latter station to entertain the late Dr. Fownes of University College, he induced that eminent chemist to draw up a treatise on rudimentary chemistry for the use of his newly-founded School of Practical Chemistry at Barbadoes: this treatise, which the author presented to him, he first printed for local use, and then presented to Mr. Weale, in reference to a design for a series of cheap popular treatises on scientific subjects which he had long previously discussed with that gentleman. It was the parent of the extensive and very valuable series of rudimentary works since brought out by Mr. Weale; but, with characteristic modesty, he requested the suppression of a notice to that effect, which may be seen in the first edition of Dr. Fownes's treatise."

"Having been commissioned to proceed (from Barbadoes) to St. Lucia to inquire into certain charges against the Chief Justice there, connected with the publication in a local journal of two ribald letters, he executed the duty assigned to him by a patient investigation and by exercising the power which the Minister reposed in



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Granville "accepting with pleasure the duties and responsibilities of an executive office, but declining all remuneration," and giving his testimony to my services—gene-

him of suspending the judge from his office if he found him guilty of the authorship of these papers. His proceedings having been first approved, were afterwards reversed by the re-instatement of Mr. Reddie through some latent influence. Two aggrieved parties immediately started up. Colonel Torrens, who had originally brought the charges against Mr. Reddie, demanded that they should be formally tried by some competent tribunal and declared true or false; and Colonel Reid, whose proceedings had been indirectly disapproved, desired that his resignation might be laid before the Queen. The Minister hesitated and requested him to re-consider his decision: but Colonel Reid was firm, and insisted on being relieved. He left Barbadoes in the beginning of September, 1848." With reference to his work at the Exhibition, the Royal Society's memoir states:—

"It has been said that his singular simplicity of manner and total absence of pretension caused the distinguished men, with whom he was associated on that occasion, to wonder at first what had led to his selection for the office. They soon discovered, under that simplicity, the patient but genuine enthusiasm, the varied experience, the calm and even temper, and the devotion to the duties of the moment, whatever they might be, which eminently fitted him for it.

"It is not too much to say that his judicious arrangements contributed materially to the success of that great undertaking, and they were fitly rewarded by the ribbon of K.C.B., and his appointment to the important military command of Malta. It may be

remarked that the Exhibition was on the eve of being closed when the same minister (Earl Grey) who had to lay Colonel Reid's resignation before the Sovereign on the ground of his having been badly used, now submitted to his Royal Mistress that he should be entrusted with the Government of Malta. To that island Sir William Reid carried all the unostentatious activity which had distinguished his former governments. In a time of extraordinary difficulty, when Malta becoming an *entrepôt* of the first importance to the British Army in the East, all its resources were strained to the utmost, he managed to meet every demand, and while he restrained the political excitements of the day, to carry forward homely designs for the permanent benefit of the people. Thus he founded a botanical school for the working classes; he imported improved agricultural implements; he introduced a new species of the cotton plant, and other seeds adapted to the climate; he established barometers in public places to warn the Maltese fishermen of impending gales; he took in hand the Library of the old Knights of Malta, and by the introduction of modern books, fitted it to be a true public library for a large community. Whatever attainable practical object commended itself to his judgment, that he undertook, with the same quiet determination which in 1851 enabled him to falsify adverse predictions and attain the object to which he was pledged, in the punctual opening of the Great Exhibition.

"The Government of Malta was the last public service of Sir William Reid. He returned home in 1858,



rously and modestly adding that they far exceeded any he had rendered or could hope to render, and adding that "in justice to my family I ought not and could not forego remuneration for those services"<sup>1</sup> (Minutes of 9th meeting of Commission, App. A, p. 3).

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XXXI. We were not summoned to attend the early meetings of the Commission, and this we felt much impeded our work. We, indeed, received direct from the Commission few orders for any work. We were objects of suspicion, as Lord Granville told me, on board the "Atlantic" at Liverpool on the 12th July, 1850, and were certainly uncomfortable enough. But we could not help creating our own work. Dilke looked after the future Catalogue with his great experience of such matters. I devoted myself to the consideration of how the

Uncomfort-  
able position  
of Executive  
Committee.

having two years previously attained the rank of Major-General, and died after a very short illness on the 31st of October, 1858. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1839, and was appointed Vice-President in 1849." The three branches of the Legislature of Bermuda voted in 1859 a sum of £300, to be applied "in obtaining and erecting a permanent memorial of Governor Reid to be placed outside the Sessions House or Council Chamber in the Town of Hamilton."

"Sir William Reid was married to a daughter of the late Mr. Bolland of Clapham. His wife died a few months before him, and he has left five daughters." One of them and his grandson, Lieut. C. O. Hore, have helped me to obtain these materials.

<sup>1</sup> The salary of £800 a year, for two years, given to me, merely indemnified me against loss at the Record Office and my other avocations, and accorded with the advice of Lord Langdale and others. Such details ought to be related perhaps in my

biography, after my death, rather than here, and I hope I may be pardoned for introducing them. On the 28th Dec., 1849, Lord Langdale saw me by appointment. He expressed his grief at my leaving the Record Office; his opinion that I ought to be amply indemnified against loss, and his intention to see Mr. Trevelyan (now Sir Charles), Permanent Secretary of the Treasury, on the subject. He conducted himself the correspondence with the Treasury about my leave of absence from the Record service for two years (26th Feb., 1850). On the 25th March, 1850, at the Treasury, Sir C. Trevelyan said any question of any payment up to the time of my leaving, was to be settled between Lord Langdale and myself; "I might be absent till the end of the Exhibition, and then return to my present *status* in all respects." At the Rolls House, 27th March, Lord Langdale called me "Mr. Stranger Cole," and was not reconciled to my absence.

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Exhibition was to be arranged, and to questions of the building, and prepared a report on Fire which Colonel Reid told me, on the 11th April, had "caused quite a sensation at the Commission, and was pronounced very interesting" (see Vol. II., p. 227). As the work began to manifest itself, in 1851 our positions became easier. On the 3rd March, Colonel Reid said that Dilke and I ought to attend all meetings of Commissioners and Committees. I answered that I was now quite indifferent. He replied, "I can understand that, for you have grown above it."

XXXII. Great moral volcanoes were smoking at this time, not only in the Commission and its Committees, and the Local Committees, but were beginning to appear in the public press.

XXXIII. During this period the Prince's powers were greatly strained by his anxiety lest the Exhibition should fail. In January, 1850, the Queen wrote:—"The Prince's sleep is again as bad as ever, and he looks very ill of an evening," and on the 8th March, 1850, Lord Granville, who knew better than any one else how much the Exhibition rested on the Prince, wrote to the Prince's secretary, "that there must be a great tax on the attention and time of His Royal Highness, who appears to be almost the only person who has considered the subject both as a whole and in its details. The whole thing would fall to pieces if he left it to itself" ("Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii., p. 244).

XXXIV. Indeed, it is my conviction that no one but the Prince, with his great wisdom and prudence, and the advantages of his rank, could have conquered the numerous difficulties of all kinds, and overcome the incalculable and unforeseen prejudices which the Exhibition excited in a nation so conservative as the English.



THE STORY OF THE BUILDING.

XXXV. One of the first acts of the Royal Commission was to appoint a Building Committee on the 24th Jan., 1850. Besides the Duke of Buccleuch and the Earl of Ellesmere, it was composed of three architects and three civil engineers, all having attained eminent positions. The architects were Mr. Barry, R.A. (afterwards Sir Charles), Mr. Cockerell, R.A., and Mr. Donaldson. The engineers were Mr. Brunel, Mr. W. Cubitt (afterwards Sir William), and Mr. Robert Stephenson. Mr. Joseph Locke, M.P., was not one, and he never forgave the omission, but visited his indignation on South Kensington and all its offspring. This Committee was too numerous and too strong to be workable. It again illustrated the old proverb of "too many cooks." Art and Science did not work together, and throughout were opposed to the very end. Any *one* of the six could have done the work well, acting on his sole responsibility. But the whole nearly wrecked the Exhibition by dispute and delay, and after five months produced an impracticable plan, which was superseded by the glass house of a gardener, a man of genius, but no architect or engineer.

GREAT  
EXHIBITION  
OF 1851.  
A.D.  
1849-1852.  
Part I.  
Building  
Committee  
appointed.

X

XXXVI. On the 21st Feb., the Building Committee reported to the Commission in favour of the site of the south side of Hyde Park, which had been recommended when the idea was started in the preceding year, and proposed that there should be a public competition "for suggestions as to the general arrangements of the ground plan of the building, &c." Their report is printed (see p. 5 of the Minutes of the Commission of the 21st Feb.) and signed, "W. Cubitt, Chairman," who held his post to the end of the Exhibition. The plans were to be sent in on or before the 8th April. Foreigners were invited to send plans, which they did (see p. 10 of Minutes of 11th April). The Committee reported

Original site  
recom-  
mended.

Competition  
for plans  
invited.



GREAT  
EXHIBITION  
OF 1851.  
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Part I.

Also tenders.

Paxton's  
plans coldly  
received.

on the 9th May (see p. 2, App. C, of Minutes of 16th May), that they had arrived "at the unanimous conclusion that able and admirable as many of them appeared to be, there was yet no single one so accordant with the peculiar objects in view, either in principle or details of its arrangement, as to warrant us in recommending its adoption." And they submitted a design of their own, in which they recommended "*some striking feature to exemplify the present state of the science of construction in this country.*" This was done on the advice of Mr. Brunel. The Committee on the 11th July reported that they had received tenders from nineteen persons; they had examined the various tenders and considered what reductions might be made by omitting the dome and other accessories, not absolutely required, and without committing themselves to any precise sum, they believed that the whole building might be constructed and removed for something under £100,000. They could not at that time report more precisely. They noticed that Mr. Paxton had proposed a building of iron and glass, and that there did not appear to be any economy in this plan; on the contrary, the cost would appear likely to exceed by nearly ten per cent. that of the ordinary construction proposed by the Committee (see App. D, p. 5 of Minutes of 11th July). After a delay of nearly five precious months, the work of the Building Committee was abortive, as the ultimate adoption of Paxton's design proved it to be. The "striking feature" was to have been a dome, 200 feet high, and nineteen millions of bricks were to have been used in Hyde Park. It was manifestly impracticable, and was condemned by the public. The design and building were repudiated even by the members of the Committee individually. I sat next to Mr. Barry under the Gallery in the House of Commons on the 4th July, 1850, when the use of Hyde Park was discussed. He said, "I have had nothing to do with the design, and repudiate it."

XXXVII. The Prince was sorely troubled at this period. He wrote to Baron Stockmar :—

“The Exhibition is now attacked furiously by *The Times*, and the House of Commons is going to drive us out of the park. There is immense excitement on the subject. If we are driven out of the park, the work is done for!! Never was anything so foolish. Buckingham Palace, 28th June, 1850.” (“Life of Prince Consort,” vol. ii. p. 285-6.) Again, on the 3rd July: “I cannot conceal from you that we are on the point of having to abandon the Exhibition altogether. We have announced our intention to do so, if on the day the vast building ought to be begun the site is taken from us. Peel was to have taken charge of the business in the Lower House. It is to come to the vote to-morrow, and the public is inflamed by the newspapers to madness. Our friend, in moments like this, is sorely missed. If you can come, pray do so, for we have need of you. Buckingham Palace, 3rd July, 1850.” On the 4th July, the Prince writes to the Duchess of Kent: “. . . Further to distress us, the whole public, led on by *The Times*, has all at once made a set against me and the Exhibition, on the ground of interference with Hyde Park. We are to pack out of London with our nuisance to the Isle of Dogs, &c., &c. There is to be a division in the House about it to-day. Peel was to have taken the lead in our defence, but now there is no one with influence enough to procure a hearing for justice and reason. If we are beaten, we shall have to give the whole thing up.” (“Life of Prince Consort,” vol. ii., p. 290-1.)

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EXHIBITION  
OF 1851.

A.D.  
1849-1852.  
Part I.  
The Prince's  
troubles.

Opposition  
to the site.

Sir R. Peel's  
death.

XXXVIII. At this crisis, when only three tenders were received, and nothing was actually settled about the building, Lord Granville and Col. Reid gave me permission to go to Liverpool, Manchester, and Birmingham to seek for other tenders, if possible, below the three received. So I started by night mail, 29th June. At Liverpool, Mr. W. Rathbone (the father of the present Mr. W. Rathbone, M.P., and a great friend of the Penny Postage and the Exhibition) took me to Mr. S. and Mr. A. Holmes, but I obtained no hopes that they would tender. At Manchester, Mr. Salis Schwabe, a

I visit Liver-  
pool, Man-  
chester, and  
Birmingham  
to get ten-  
ders.



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EXHIBITION  
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Part I.

See Fox and  
Henderson.

Parlia-  
mentary  
agitation  
against site.

Report to  
the Prince  
of the divi-  
sion.

warm friend of R. Cobden, introduced me to Mr. Bellhouse, who, after two hours' consideration, declined to tender. I then went to Birmingham, called at Fox and Henderson's Works at Smethwick, and the following are notes made at the time. "Mr. Fox away. Found Mr. Henderson only, who was prepared to tender for plan according to Paxton's design. Suggested he should tender for the plan duly economized, also to take the risk. He advised my remaining to see his partner. Went over his works with Mr. Cowper. Mr. Fox came in the evening by express from London. We all met at the Queen's Hotel. Fox said it would be hardly possible to erect the Committee's plan in the time. Brickwork would take 13,000,000. Euston took 20,000,000 and five months to lay; 3,000 cubic yards of water in dome to evaporate. 32 oz. glass could not be made in the time, because it must be annealed before it is cut. Stayed till half-past twelve, discussing. Both agreed to tender in three ways." 4th July, 1850,—“Called on Mr. Lascelles and Thompson to get signatures to petition against change of site. Saw Cobden; rode round the Park to find out the number of householders who could be damnified, if at all. To Palace Yard: prepared paper on amount of damage to residents: took it to Lord Granville; said he thought it very good indeed and very useful; wished Mr. Labouchere to have a copy. At the Commons, under the Gallery; during debate sat near Mr. Barry (see p. 164, *antea*), Phillipps, of the Office of Works, and Mr. Sheppard, Chairman of the East India Company; debate flat; began adversely, then improved; division deprecated, but Sibthorp insisted; so there were two divisions; J. Scott Russell came in towards the end. Called at Buckingham Palace to tell result; Prince said he would see me; up to his private room. He was very nervous; said it had never entered his head that any one could object. If the site had not been affirmed he was



prepared to give up the Exhibition; it was 'like asking your friends to your flower garden and putting them among the cabbages.' (See also the Prince's letter to Baron Stockmar, p. 165.) The death of Sir R. Peel was horrible.<sup>1</sup> The Prince was low in spirits. Called on old Dilke; advised me not to resign. 5th July, 1850,—“J. Bell, the sculptor, called to hear fate of division on the site—162 for to 47 against. Palace Yard: Reid (who had the boldness of a lion with the timidity of a hare) said to me, ‘Henceforth, we must not be the focus of any agitation. Committees must not be asked by *us* to support the Commission about site or anything else. Mayors of Birmingham or Bradford must do it.’ Northcote came; told him to see that the Building Act should not be infringed. Reid agreed that it ought not to be. Col. Lloyd proposed his building on screw piles. Lord Overstone came to deplore the risks which a contractor or guarantor would run—Queen’s or Prince’s death, foreign war, &c.”

XXXIX. Sir Robert Peel was thrown from his horse in the Green Park on the 29th June, 1850, and, as the Prince wrote,

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Part I.

Death of Sir  
R. Peel.

<sup>1</sup> Cobden wrote to Mr. G. Hadfield, 5th July, 1850, three days after Sir Robert Peel’s death:—“Poor Peel! I have scarcely yet realized to my mind the conviction that he will never again occupy his accustomed seat opposite to my place in the house. I sat with him on Saturday till two o’clock in the Royal Commission—the last business in which he was engaged—and in four hours afterwards he received his mortal stroke” (Morley’s Life, Vol. I., p. 77). Mr. Field Gibson, one of the Commissioners, was also present, and allows me to copy a note that he has made. He thought it worth while to record a remark made by Sir R. Peel at that meeting, which struck him and others at the time as noteworthy. “Much op-

position was then made by the inhabitants of the houses in Kensington Road to the proposed site of the Exhibition building in Hyde Park, and an appeal to the House was made by them, backed by a resolution to the same effect from the Vestry of St. George’s, Hanover Square, to induce the House to pass a resolution which would have the effect of compelling the Commission to change the site. Speaking on this question, and advising the course we should adopt, Sir R. Peel said, ‘Depend upon it, the House of Commons is a timid body.’ Meaning, as we supposed, that they often thought more of the security of their seats, than of the merits of the question before them.”

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Part I.  
Sir Robert  
Peel's death.

"Closed his eyes last night (2nd July), about eleven! You will have heard that he fell with, or rather from, his horse opposite our garden wall last Saturday, and broke his collar-bone and shoulder-blade. He suffered greatly, and was worn out with pain, fever, and a gouty constitution. Only a few hours before his accident he was seated with us in the Commission,<sup>1</sup> advising as to the difficult position into which we have been thrown in regard to the Exhibition by the refusal to allow us the use of the Park."

Guarantee  
fund.

XL. The next most pressing question was how the funds for the building should be provided.<sup>2</sup> The idea of a guarantee fund (see Vol. II., p. 231) presented itself to many minds. The first suggestion I heard came from Lord Granville, who told me some months before he would subscribe for £5,000. The next offer came from Mr. Peto (now Sir S. Morton Peto), who said he would be ready for £20,000. One Commissioner repented having given a guarantee, and with long face, went about saying the Government ought to bear all the loss, even £50,000 and more.

Peto's office.

XLI. On the 12th July, as I was passing Mr. Peto's office in Great George Street, he came out, and the following conversation took place. He asked me, "How is the guarantee getting on?" I replied, "Not at all; everybody is afraid to begin."

S. M. P. "Recollect, I am quite ready to act when the time arrives."

H. C. "The time has arrived, and you will do good service by beginning it."

<sup>1</sup> On the 29th June, 1850, when "the Commissioners resolved that the site proposed is the only one available for the purpose, and that to abandon it would be tantamount to giving up the Exhibition" (see their Minutes).

<sup>2</sup> "Grave deliberations as to ways and means with Sir Charles Wood, Lord Overstone, Lord Granville, and Mr. Labouchere, had not resulted in

any satisfactory solution of the problem; when the idea of creating a guarantee fund to meet any contingent deficiency was happily suggested. Mr. Peto, with his partners, led the way on the 12th of July by pledging themselves to the extent of £50,000." ("Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii., p. 298.)



S. M. P. "I am going down to Lowestoft to-night, and shall be back in a fortnight."

H. C. "That will be a fortnight lost, and time is most precious."

S. M. P. "Do you feel confident that if I offer to do anything, it will be acceptable?"

H. C. "Quite confident; what you intend to do, do directly."

S. M. P. "Then come with me to the Reform Club, and I will write a letter to Colonel Grey."

We went at once to the writing room of the Reform Club, and Mr. Peto wrote the following letter:—

"Reform Club, 12th July, 1850.

"SIR,—Having, as a member of the Finance Committee, had occasion to confer with Lord Granville on the subject of providing a Guarantee Fund towards carrying out the Great Exhibition of Industry of all Nations in 1851, and understanding that the subject is likely to be discussed by the Royal Commission to-morrow, I request you to have the kindness to communicate to His Royal Highness Prince Albert, the President of the Commission, my desire to promote the Exhibition, and that I am willing, on behalf of myself and *friends*,<sup>1</sup> to guarantee the sum of £50,000, or, if necessary, to advance the same for the purposes of the Exhibition. I take this course, as I am compelled to leave town to-morrow from indisposition.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

"S. MORTON PETO.

"P.S. Perhaps I might take the liberty of saying that I consider the success of the Exhibition would be considerably increased by the adoption of Mr. Paxton's plan, if it is not too costly."

"Buckingham Palace, July 12, 1850.

"SIR,—I lost no time in submitting your letter to the Prince, and cannot obey his commands as to the answer better than by copying the words in which they are conveyed, 'Pray thank Mr.

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Peto's letter  
to Colonel  
Grey.

Colonel  
Grey's an-  
swer.

<sup>1</sup> Not partners, see note, p. 168.



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Peto at once in the warmest terms for his public spirit and readiness to support us in our difficult task, by this spontaneous and most liberal offer.'

"I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,  
"C. GREY."

XLII. The letter was sent the same evening, and great joy it gave to the Prince. It started the guarantee<sup>1</sup> brilliantly, and before long about £350,000 were subscribed, and the Bank of England preferred to make the necessary advances on smaller sums.

Interview  
with the  
Prince.

XLIII. On the 15th July, 1850, I called at Buckingham Palace on Colonel Grey (who had succeeded Colonel Phipps as private secretary). I take the following notes from my diary :—"The Prince came into Grey's room, and, as his manner often was, sat upon the table. I related the details of Peto's guarantee. The Prince applauded it 'as a most useful thing in having stirred up others!' He said, 'Now was the time for work. It was not plans that were wanted.' He deplored Northcote's retirement from the Board of Trade when he succeeded to the baronetcy. I told the Prince candidly 'my opinion of the state of the present arrangements,—delay, difficulty, cost,' &c. The Prince asked, 'What is being done about the catalogues?' and then went on to say, 'Playfair would see to the Collection well, but who the arrangement? He did not know where the man was who was to bring the thing together.' The Prince left, and I had some further talk with Colonel Grey, and I told him I had thought of resigning to make matters easier. Grey strongly dissuaded me from thinking about it, and I was led to saying that I would not shrink from the work if officially charged with the arrangement, and he said he would promote it."

<sup>1</sup> Sir Alexander Spearman, when the Exhibition was over, took charge of it; and, I believe, it is still preserved with the Prince's papers.

XLIV. The same day the Commissioners agreed to put aside the brick plan of the Building Committee, for the execution of which Mr. Brassey tendered for £84,141, and virtually to adopt Paxton's, for which Messrs. Fox and Henderson tendered at £79,800, and they undertook to execute it, including the semi-cylindrical roof (proposed by Mr. Barry, but not the one adopted) by the 1st January, 1851.

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Part I.  
Paxton's  
plan  
adopted.

XLV. Fox and Henderson's first tender for £79,800 had been accepted by the Commissioners, but before the building was completed the cost had mounted up to £107,780, and finally £142,780 were paid, but this included a sum of £35,000 to the contractors, "taking into consideration the important services of Messrs. Fox and Henderson, the unprecedented character of the undertaking, the shortness of time allowed for its completion, and the energy and liberality with which the contractors had laboured to meet the wishes of the Commission" (1st Report of the Commissioners, p. xxx.). After the Exhibition, the contractors sold the materials and erected them, with some changes, at Sydenham. The revived Crystal Palace has attracted millions of gratified visitors and greatly influenced the growth of public taste; but it does not come within the scope of this book to dwell upon this result of the Great Exhibition.

Payments to  
Fox and  
Henderson.

XLVI. At the same meeting, 15th July, 1859, my plan for allotting space was discussed, and a memorandum read to the Commissioners by Dr. Playfair, who said, "In this plan of Mr. Cole's I generally concur, believing it to be the best principle which has yet been suggested for allotting space to towns—a question of a remarkably difficult nature." My plan consisted in ascertaining the average amount of space required by each exhibitor throughout the kingdom, classed under the four sectional heads of the Exhibition. The total amount of space demanded was to be lessened to the amount available, and the average of each exhibitor to be reduced

Scheme for  
division of  
space.



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Prince's re-  
vival.

in like proportion (see Minutes of the 24th meeting of the Commissioners, p. 2), and this plan was finally adopted and worked out without alteration of the principle.

XLVII. The Prince writes, 20th July: "Two days ago we entered upon a quieter and more endurable phase of existence—I mean we came here (Osborne). In town it became at last quite impossible to go on longer, and I am sorry to say I was again suffering from sleeplessness and exhaustion. Nevertheless, in all the matters which I had in hand, I had triumphant success." On the 23rd July, the Prince's illness greatly afflicted the Queen, who wrote most pathetically to Baron Stockmar:—

Queen's  
anxiety.

"Pray, do listen to our entreaties to come. It will do you good to be with my beloved Prince. He longs for you. Since the night of your poor friend's death he again wakes so early, and this is a sad distress to me. Clark admits that is the mind. . . . Diet has been of no avail. He has likewise been so shamefully plagued about the Exhibition, that for the honour of the country (which would have been grievously injured if a little knot of selfish people had succeeded in driving him out of the only place where the architects said it could be), he felt their conduct much, and thought so much about it, that this has also helped to make him wake early" ("Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii., p. 296).

Duke of  
Wellington's  
visits.

XLVIII. Some incidents during the construction of the building are worth notice. The Duke of Wellington was a constant visitor. The frequent remark made to him was, "The building will never be erected in time," and when said, the Duke would gruffly reply, "It will, I know it will! Paxton has said it will."<sup>1</sup>

Duke's  
opinion of  
Paxton.

<sup>1</sup> The Duke had evidence of Paxton's readiness and administrative ability when the Queen made a royal visit to Chatsworth. Paxton had provided a great display of fireworks, which all the county of Derby came to see. Nothing so superb had been

seen before. Paxton had decided that, as soon as it was over, at twelve at night, the place should be made tidy, and he brought in an army of 500 labourers with baskets and shovels to clear away the *debris*. When this had been done, the gardeners mowed the

Fireworks  
at Chats-  
worth.



XLIX. The trees, old and young, in the Park gave sad trouble. On the 22nd February, 1851, the young trees, worth, as Paxton said, about 5*s.* each, projected through the stairs. I requested Colonel Reid to see two stumps in the way, but, like Nelson, who would not see signals at the battle of the Nile, he declined to see them, "in case they should be removed." But they were cut down (24th February), on a hint being given me that if they came down no inquiries would be made. Lord Seymour let some hasty words fall in the House of Commons, which prohibited him from removing any trees, and they were not removed until all the powers of the Constitution had been invoked.

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EXHIBITION  
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1849-1852.  
Part I.  
Old and  
young trees  
removed.

L. The roofs throughout the building were a cause of much anxiety. On the 30th January, a violent storm of wind came on from the south, and the rain poured down about 5 p.m., and caused seventy-two feet of the roof of the building to be twisted back. Captain Owen, R.E., was of opinion that the roof was sucked up by some vacuum. Again, on the 23rd March, there was a storm of wind in the night, and much leakage, and the roof lifted in the same place as before. So great was the leakage, that, on the 25th March, I told Mr. Fox that if it was not stopped before the end of the week, we should publish the roof to be a failure, and that he was beaten. The threat was effective, and more men and putty were found to arrest the evil. But unless skylights are strongly made and carefully executed, a glass

Roofs.

Leakage.

lawns, and swept up. At 6 a.m., just as the work was complete and all in order, Paxton espied a figure in a large cloak emerging from the house, and he hid himself behind a shrub to watch what happened. The figure came to the spot where the fireworks were let off, and looked about, and searched again and again. Paxton

appeared, and gave his Grace a bow. "Why, Paxton," exclaimed the Duke with astonishment, "I never saw such a sight in my life. I came out to see the dead and the wounded, and there are none. It's as good as one of my battles." The Duke henceforth became a friend of Paxton's, and always vouched for his competency.

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Part I.  
Delays.

ceiling should be below, as in the best parts of the roof of the South Kensington Museum.

LI. The delays in painting alarmed us. On the 27th February, it appeared obvious that the painting would not be completed by the 1st May. Colonel Reid with Mrs. Reid came, and I called the Colonel's attention to the slow progress of the painting. It was simply a question of numbers of painters and scaffolding. Mrs. Reid valiantly urged her husband to recommend that an extra £1,000 should be offered to Fox and Henderson for speed. I found out from Mr. Fox that he could and *would* hasten the work if paid £1,000 extra. Lord Granville and Mr. Cubitt agreed that he should be tempted by the bribe. Mr. Fox hastened the work, but, I am happy to record, flinched from taking the money, and afterwards told me that he could not take it. On the 20th March, the painters were vigorously at work painting, with plenty of scaffolding. Again I note, 7th April, "Painting and removal of scaffolding very behind-hand; wrote to Fox and Henderson and told Mr. Fox that the painters *must* be out by the 14th April, or the Sappers would enter, take away the scaffolding, and turn men out." 12th April, "Scaffolding not yet out," but it was all down before the 30th April.

#### ROYAL VISITS TO THE EXHIBITION OF 1851.

Royal  
visits to  
Great Exhi-  
bition.

LII. Sir Theodore Martin, in his *Life of the Prince Consort*, has not ventured to recount in detail, as he might have done, the immense labour which the Prince gave to the work for two years. The visits to the building, of the Queen and himself, are a record for all time; they appear to me quite as valuable and historical as the visits and expenses of King John, in A.D. 1212-13, which have been pub-



lished for the study of historians.<sup>1</sup> These visits of Queen Victoria are made especially interesting by Her Majesty's own observations, and the incidents which occurred at them. The brief notes are those I kept myself in my diary.

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LIII. I believe the Queen, accompanied by the Prince, made her first visit to the building on the 23rd December, 1850.

First visit.

21st January, 1851.—H.R.H. came before the meeting of Commissioners, and was received by Colonel Reid, W. Cubitt, and myself. He examined the system of arrangement, and expressed his pleasure. He thought there would be great changes of opinion about many things. He liked the colouring of the transept of the three primitives, blue, red, and yellow, which Owen Jones had suggested.

8th February.—Prince came before 10 a.m., only myself to receive him.

18th February.—The Queen, Prince, and children came at 9.30, and inspected the foreign plan of arrangements; also witnessed the trial of the gallery floor by heavy weights rolled over them by the Sappers, in the presence of Brunel, Locke, Field, Maudslay, &c.

20th February.—The Prince came to discuss even the hand-railing, so interested was he in all the details.

27th February.—The Prince came, saw, and approved the hand-railing, and use of Turkey red cloth, suggested by Owen Jones.

<sup>1</sup> In the Public Record Office is a vellum roll called a "Rotulus Misæ," which gives in detail where King John went in the fourteenth year of his reign, and what his expenses were.

9s. 4½d. in alms bestowed on 100 paupers whom the King feasted, because he ate flesh twice on Friday next after the Ascension at Lambeth: 7d. to William the Poulterer for cocks for the use of the falcons (see a volume, "Documents illustrative of

English History in 13 and 14 Centuries, selected from the Exchequer Records," which I edited in 1844).

1 mark to Ingenaud, the reeve of Haltwisel, the host of the King, to repair his grange, which was burnt, and in which was the King's kitchen.

2s. to Wilkin de Meinnill, who carried to the King's mistress a chapel of roses from Ditton, the manor of Geoffrey FitzPeter, when the King was entertained there.

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3rd March.—The Queen, Prince, and Royal children came to inspect progress.

27th March.—The Prince and Colonel Phipps came and said the Society of Arts should have a military band once a week for its *conversazione*.

2nd April.—Queen went round the building, amused with the activity of all.

4th April.—Prince, with Duc d'Aumale, went through the Exhibition.

7th April.—Queen and Prince came. Mr. Fox rather sore. He said their visits excited the workmen and exhibitors so much, that each visit cost him £20 in loss of time!

15th April.—Queen went round the building. Colonel Phipps said "the Queen would go as to the Royal Academy in state to opening, but no public were to be admitted." Great disappointment expressed. Strong dissatisfaction was expressed in the newspapers when this was known.

22nd April.—Prince came early, read over his programme for opening to Colonel Reid and myself.

29th April.—Queen and Prince came soon after nine. "We remained two hours and a half," says Her Majesty's Diary, "and I came back quite beaten, and my head bewildered from the myriads of beautiful and wonderful things which now quite dazzle one's eyes! Such efforts have been made, and our people have shown great taste in their manufactures! All owing to this Great Exhibition and Albert, *all to him*. We went up into the gallery, and the sight from there, with the numerous courts full of all sorts of objects of art manufacture, &c., is quite marvellous. The noise was overpowering, for so much was going on everywhere, and from twelve to twenty thousand people engaged in arranging all sorts of things."—"Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii., p. 362.

30th April.—Queen and Prince of Prussia (now Emperor



of Germany) went round the building. The Queen writes, "They were thunderstruck, the noise and bustle were even greater than yesterday, as so many preparations for the seats of the spectators going on." Her Majesty laughed at the great wig dispute. A wigmaker wished to be placed among the Fine Arts, and found himself in Animal Products, which made him indignant. The Guards cleared the building of everybody at 2 p.m., so that the sweeping up and laying down of crimson cloth could be done under Mr. Belshaw. The Duke himself had to retreat before the line of his Guards!

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1st May.—Opening by the Queen. See Her Majesty's own account.

LIV. With the Queen's gracious permission, given me through Sir Theodore Martin, K.C.B., I extract the following account of the opening of the Great Exhibition, from Her Majesty's own record.<sup>1</sup>

1st May, 1851. "The great event has taken place—a complete and beautiful triumph—a glorious and touching sight, one which I shall ever be proud of for my beloved Albert and my country . . . Yes! it is a day which makes my heart swell with pride and glory and thankfulness!

The Queen's  
account of  
the opening.

" . . . The Park presented a wonderful spectacle—crowds streaming through it, carriages and troops passing, quite like the Coronation day, and for me the same anxiety—no, much greater anxiety, on account of my beloved Albert. The day was bright, and all bustle and excitement. . . at half-past eleven the whole procession in state carriages was in motion . . . The Green Park and Hyde Park were one densely crowded mass of human beings, in the highest good humour and most enthusiastic. I never saw Hyde Park look as it did, as far as the eye could reach. A little rain fell just as we started; but before we came near the Crystal Palace, the sun shone and gleamed upon the gigantic edifice, upon which the flags of all nations were floating. We drove up Rotten Row, and got out at the entrance on that side.

The Parks.

<sup>1</sup> Life of the Prince Consort, vol. ii., p. 365 to p. 368.

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First view.

A day to  
live for ever.

Thackeray's  
"May Day  
Ode."

"The glimpse of the transept through the iron gates, the waving palms, flowers, statues, myriads of people filling the galleries, gave us a sensation which I can never forget, and I felt much moved. We went for a moment to a little side room where we left our shawls, and where we found Mama and Mary (now Duchess of Teck), and outside which were standing the other Princes. In a few seconds we proceeded, Albert leading me, having Vicky at his hand, and Bertie holding mine. The sight, as we came to the middle, where the steps and chair (which I did *not* sit on) were placed, with the beautiful crystal fountain just in front of it, was magical, so vast, so glorious, so touching. One felt, as so many did whom I have since spoken to, filled with devotion, more so than by any service I have ever heard. The tremendous cheers, the joy expressed in every face, the immensity of the building, the mixture of palms, flowers, trees, statues, fountains, the organ (with 200 instruments and 600 voices, which sounded like nothing), and my beloved husband the author of this 'Peace-Festival,' which united the industry of all nations of the earth; all this was moving indeed, and it was and is a day to live for ever. God bless my dearest Albert, God bless my dearest country, which has shown itself so great to-day! One felt so grateful to the great God who seemed to pervade all and to bless all!<sup>1</sup> The only event it

<sup>1</sup> In reading this vivid description, so glowing with an emotion that speaks directly to the heart, we are reminded of Thackeray's "May Day Ode:"

I felt a thrill of love and awe,  
To mark the different garb of each,  
The changing tongue, the various  
speech  
Together blent,  
A thrill methinks, like his, who saw  
"All people dwelling upon earth  
Praising one God with solemn mirth  
And one consent."

Behold her in her Royal place;  
A gentle lady—and the hand  
That sways the sceptre of this land,  
How frail and weak!  
Soft is the voice and fair the face

She breathes amen to prayer and  
hymn,—

No wonder that her eyes are dim,  
And pale her cheek.

The fountain in the basin plays,  
The chanting organ echoes clear,  
An awful chorus 'tis to hear,  
A wondrous song!  
Swell, organ, swell your trumpet blast!  
March, Queen and Royal pageant,  
march,  
By splendid isle and springing arch  
Of this fair Hall!

And see! above the fabric vast,  
God's boundless heaven is bending  
blue,  
God's peaceful sun is beaming  
through  
And shining over all.



in the slightest degree reminded me of was the Coronation, but this day's festival was a thousand times superior. In fact, it is unique, and can bear no comparison, from its peculiarity, beauty, and combination of such different and striking objects. I mean the slight resemblance only as to its solemnity; the enthusiasm and cheering too, were much more touching, for in a church naturally all is silent.

"Albert left my side after 'God save the Queen' had been sung, and at the head of the Commissioners—a curious assemblage of political and distinguished men—read me the Report, which is a long one, and to which I read a short answer. After which the Archbishop of Canterbury offered up a short and appropriate prayer, followed by the 'Hallelujah Chorus,' during which the Chinese mandarin<sup>1</sup> came forward and made his obeisance.<sup>2</sup> This concluded, the procession began. It was beautifully arranged and of great length, the prescribed order being exactly adhered to. The Nave was full, which had not been intended; but still there was no difficulty, and the whole long walk from one end to the other was made in the midst of continued and deafening cheers and waving of handkerchiefs. Every one's face was bright and smiling, many with tears in their eyes. Many Frenchmen called out 'Vive la Reine.' One could, of course, see nothing but

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Prince reads  
report.

The prayer.

Procession.

<sup>1</sup> He was a sea captain who brought his junk into the Thames for exhibition, and got a good deal of money.

<sup>2</sup> "While the Hallelujah Chorus was being performed, a Chinese, touched apparently by the solemnity of the scene, came forward and made a profound obeisance to the Queen. 'This live importation from the Celestial Empire,' the reporter of the *Examiner* records, 'managed to render himself extremely conspicuous, and one could not help admiring his perfect composure and nonchalance of manner.' (He came in a blue satin robe and was met by Capt. Owen, R.E., who with presence of mind recollecting there was no representative of China, admitted him, and he occupies a front place among the foreigners in Selous's picture.) "He

talked with nobody, yet he seemed perfectly at home, and on the most friendly terms with all. A most amusing advantage was taken of his appearance, for, when the procession was formed, the diplomatic body had no Chinese representative, and our stray celestial friend was quietly impounded, and made to march in the rear of the ambassadors. He submitted to this arrangement with the same calm indifference which marked the whole course of his proceedings, and bore himself with a steadiness and gravity that fully justified the course which had been adopted. His behaviour throughout was that of 'a citizen of the world' as perfect as Goldsmith's philosopher himself."—("Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii., p. 367.)

The Chinese.

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Duke of  
Wellington  
and Marquis  
of Anglesey.

what was near in the Nave, and nothing in the Courts. The organs were but little heard, but the Military Band, at one end, had a very fine effect as we passed along. They played the March from *Athalie*. The beautiful Amazon, in bronze, by Kiss, looked very magnificent. The old Duke and Lord Anglesey walked arm in arm, which was a touching sight. I saw many acquaintances amongst those present.

Exhibition  
opened.

"We returned to our own place, and Albert told Lord Breadalbane to declare that the Exhibition was opened, which he did in a loud voice—'Her Majesty commands me to declare this Exhibition open'—which was followed by a flourish of trumpets and immense cheering. All the Commissioners, the Executive Committee, &c., who worked so hard and to whom such immense praise is due, seemed truly happy, and no one more so than Paxton, who may be justly proud; he rose from being a common gardener's boy. Everybody was astonished and delighted, Sir George Grey [Home Secretary] in tears.

Return.

"The return was equally satisfactory, the crowd most enthusiastic, the order perfect. We reached the Palace at twenty minutes past one, and went out on the balcony, and were loudly cheered. The Prince and Princess [of Prussia] quite delighted and impressed. That *we* felt happy, thankful, I need not say; proud of all that had passed, of my darling husband's success, and of the behaviour of my good people. I was more impressed than I can say by the scene. It was one that can never be effaced from my memory, and never will be from that of any one who witnessed it. Albert's name is immortalized, and the wicked and absurd reports of dangers of every kind, which a set of people, viz., the *soi-disant* fashionables and the most violent Protectionists, spread, are silenced. It is therefore doubly satisfactory, that all should have gone off so well, and without the slightest accident or mishap. . . . Albert's emphatic words last year, when he said that the feeling would be, '*that of deep thankfulness to the Almighty for the blessings which he has bestowed upon us already here below*' this day realized. . . .

Lord John  
Russell  
and Lord  
Palmerston's  
congratulations.

Among the first to offer their congratulations to the Queen upon the brilliant success of the day's proceedings were Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston. "It was a day," the latter wrote at the close of an official letter, "the result of which must be



no less gratifying to your Majesty than honourable to the nation whose good fortune it is to have your Majesty for its Sovereign." Lord John Russell, fresh from the scene, could not refrain from congratulating the Queen on the triumphant success of the proceedings of this day. "Everything went off so well," he continued, "that it is needless to mention particulars; but the general conduct of the multitudes assembled, the loyalty and the content which so generally appeared, were perhaps the most gratifying to a politician, while the wonders of art and industry will be the most celebrated among philosophers and men of science, as well as among manufacturers and the great mass of the working people."<sup>1</sup>

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"I longed," Her Majesty wrote in answer to Lady Lyttelton, "to hear from you, feeling sure that you would think of me on the occasion of that great and glorious 1st of May. The proudest and happiest day of—as you truly call it—my happy life. . . . To see this great conception of my beloved husband's mind, which is always labouring for the good of others,—to see this great thought and work crowned with triumphant success, in spite of difficulties and opposition of every imaginable kind, and of every effort to which jealousy and calumny could resort to cause its failure,—has been an immense happiness to us both. But to me the glory of his dear name, united with the glory of my dear country, which shone more than she has ever done on that great day, is a source of pride, happiness, and thankfulness, which none but a wife's heart can comprehend."

Queen to  
Lady Lyt-  
telton.

On the 3rd of May, the King of the Belgians wrote to the Queen: "I wish you joy with all my heart that everything went off in such a glorious way at the opening of the Exhibition, and can well understand your happiness in seeing thus our beloved Albert's work crowned with unexampled success. It is well merited, as it was a truly colossal task, and human nature is always inclined to vilify and to render perilous all such undertakings, from that pretty generally diffused disposition to enjoy the non-success of one's neighbour and fellow-creature. I sincerely regret not to have witnessed such a glorious sight as the opening must have been, *aber ich bin allen diesen Dingen sehr abgestorben* (but the time for all such things is gone by with me).

King of the  
Belgians.

"I am glad that the foreigners saw for once, that to the highest

<sup>1</sup> "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii., p. 369.

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authority in the State, even a great and free country like England may show real and great respect. The sceptical and cynical turn which the press in France has given to the public mind, has shown itself since the Restoration by constant efforts to render the supreme government, and particularly the person ostensibly at the head of it, ridiculous and odious in every imaginable way. They have very pretty results to boast of this system."<sup>1</sup>

LV. I continue extracts from my Diary respecting the Queen's visits :—

3rd May.—The Queen and Prince and Princess of Prussia came about 9.30. Her Majesty said to me, the "opening had been perfectly satisfactory," and repeated the same to Dilke.

7th May.—The Queen came.

10th May.—The Queen came. Her Majesty said to me "You ought to write a child's book about the Exhibition." I replied, "I feared the pressure of the work would not allow me." And the Princess Royal said, "I have read your books very often."

12th May.—The Queen came, but without previous notice, and no one was present to meet Her Majesty.

14th May.—Queen came early, and went chiefly over Fine Arts.

16th May.—Queen came, and went over the divisions of Austria, Belgium, and Zollverein.

17th May.—Queen and Prince came after the Prince of Wales and Prince Alfred had arrived: at Machinery Section.

19th May.—Queen, Prince, and Prince of Wales, and large party came.

20th May.—Queen did not come till 9.30 a.m.

21st May.—Queen and Prince came. Prince of Wales and Prince Alfred went over Raw Produce with Playfair.

22nd May.—Queen came to the sections, East Indies,

<sup>1</sup> "Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii., p. 371.



British Glass, and Pottery. Her Majesty desired that Mr. Minton should be told of her regret that he was not present.

27th May.—The Queen came early to see the shilling visitors enter. At the opening of the doors at ten on the first shilling day, there were more policemen present than visitors. Mr. Mayne (afterwards Sir Richard) had made elaborate preparations for that day. There were only 18,400 persons. "Every one was required to move upon the left-hand side, and to visit the compartments on that side as they passed," and, although alone at an early hour in an empty gallery, I was obliged by the police to obey this rule, which was abolished after a few days' experience. Lord Granville betted that the numbers on the morrow (28th) would exceed 30,000. They were 29,380, and on 29th 47,500.

29th May.—The Queen came, and inquired what papers I had in my hand. On my answering, "Papers on Patents," the Prince said, "I hope the Patent Law will get through!" These were my reports on Patents, issued by the Society of Arts, and Lord Granville's Patent Bill.

30th May.—Queen came with the two Princes.

2nd June.—The Queen came with the Duchess of Kent and the two Princes. The Duchess got separated from the Queen's party, and was told by a policeman to stand back, "and she should see the Queen pass!"

7th June.—The Queen came to see the Machinery. Her Majesty asked me to take the Princesses Royal and Alice "to see something that would interest them."

16th June.—Queen came with Princess Royal and Princess Alice.

20th June.—Queen came early.

21st June.—The Queen came, accompanied by the King of the Belgians.

24th June.—The Queen came with the King of the Bel-

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gians, and, for the first time, retired through the Nave. The crowd was most orderly.

26th June.—The Queen came with the King of the Belgians.

28th June.—Queen came with the Princes to see the Sheffield Court and the Hydraulic Machinery.

2nd July.—Queen came. Only Bowring and myself present.

5th July.—Queen went to the North Gallery, "very chatty, and full of observation."

8th July.—Queen came by mistake. No one to receive Her Majesty.

9th July.—Queen came, and inspected Electric Telegraphs and Agricultural Machinery. Her Majesty and Prince present at the ball at Guildhall, to which I went this evening.

11th July.—The Queen came, and inspected Selous's picture.

15th July.—Queen came.

16th July.—Queen came with Prince. He proposed that Talbotypes should be prepared to illustrate the report of the Jurors, and that 100 copies should be taken of each negative to be distributed to public libraries and foreign countries exhibiting.

17th July.—The Queen came.

18th July.—The Queen and Prince came. In the Glass Collection in the North Gallery, an exhibitor, with much agitation, courted Her Majesty's attention to an engraving of an "eye" in the heavens looking upon the Prince of Wales, and explained that "it was the satisfaction of the Almighty at the coming of the Prince of Wales to the throne." The Queen laughed most heartily, and said to me, "Ask the Prince to come here," and when he did so, the exhibitor was commanded to repeat the scene, which he did. The Queen's diary records, "The immense number of



manufacturers with whom we have spoken have gone away delighted. The thousands who are in the Crystal Palace when we are leaving, are all so loyal and so gratified, many never having seen us before. All this will be of a use not to be described. It identifies us with the people, and gives them an additional cause for loyalty and attachment" ("Life of the Prince Consort," vol. ii., p. 385).

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13th October.—The Queen, Prince, and two Princes came to see the building empty. The Prince would write to the Society of Arts and suggest that it should have papers written on the Exhibition. Commissioners met. Tunis not having received a medal, by an oversight, the Special Commissioner, for Juries, opposed re-opening the question; when the Prince said, "better be just than comfortable." The law officers of the Crown recommended the issue of a Supplemental Charter. "An Act of Parliament would only be necessary in case the Commissioners wanted to break faith with the public," as the Prince observed with humour.

15th October.—The last day before removal of goods. Prince presided at a meeting of the Commissioners, when Lord Canning, as Chairman of the Jurors, reported their proceedings.

16th October.—Removal of goods commenced.

11th November.—The Queen came to see the empty building.

#### SOME VARIOUS PANICS DURING 1850-1.

LVI. As soon as the public became somewhat familiarized with the idea of the Exhibition, panics of various kinds occurred in succession. There arose a dread of the use of Hyde Park, and the selfish opposition of those who had enjoyed the privilege of looking on it always for nothing; fear of the

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Damage to  
Hyde Park.

insecurity of the building; political fears of the conduct of the people, and an especial dread of foreigners, &c.

LVII. I have already related (§ XXXVII.) how fierce was the opposition to the use of Hyde Park, and how the aid of Parliament was invoked to forbid it. The Park was to be destroyed, and its trees all felled to the ground; the builders of the New Houses would be ruined; even Parliament was to be dissolved, if ministers were beaten in supporting the Queen and her Consort.

LVIII. Sir Theodore Martin writes:—

Col. Sib-  
thorp's  
prayers.

"During the debate on the Address on the first night of the Session of 1851, Colonel Sibthorp had prayed that hail or lightning might descend from heaven to defeat the ill-advised project. If others did not invoke doom on the structure itself, they were no less fervent in prophesying doom to property, to morals, nay, even to the State itself, as the inevitable result of bringing into London a concourse of all the bad characters in Europe. These fears, absurd at the best, became ludicrous in the light of the actual facts as they presented themselves, in the holiday aspect of London during the next six months. But they cost the Prince and his co-adjutors a world of trouble, as may be seen by the following letter to the Dowager Duchess of Coburg:—

Prince's  
feelings.

"Just at present I am more dead than alive from over-work. The opponents of the Exhibition work with might and main to throw all the old women into panic, and to drive myself crazy. The strangers, they give out, are certain to commence a thorough revolution here, to murder Victoria and myself, and to proclaim the Red Republic in England; the plague is certain to ensue from the confluence of such vast multitudes, and to swallow up those whom the increased price of everything has not already swept away. For all this I am to be responsible, and against all this I have to make efficient provision.

"Buckingham Palace, 15th April, 1851."

Insecurity  
of the build-  
ing.

LIX. After the first scare had subsided, and Paxton's building was actually begun, there arose a fear that the



building would not stand, but be thrown down like a pack of cards. Mr. Airy,<sup>1</sup> the Astronomer-Royal, wrote a pamphlet in which he demonstrated that it must come down. Like Dr. Lardner's prophecy that no steamer would ever be able to cross the Atlantic, Airy's prophecy must always remain as a caution against the utterance of assertions as arrogant in theoretical science, as papal dogmatism is in theological belief.

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Professor  
Airy.

LX. There had been great apprehension in the public mind of the dangers of the Exhibition to the metropolis. The Duke of Wellington brought into the neighbourhood of the metropolis 10,000 additional troops, to deal with any possible disturbances; but they were so judiciously disposed that the increased number of soldiers was not remarked. Lord Palmerston wrote to Lord Normanby:—

"Though this first day (1st May) of the campaign has passed off so well, of course we shall have to keep a watchful eye during the whole four months upon those who might be disposed to take advantage, for purposes of mischief, of the congregation of foreigners in London; but with the means we have of making such people pay dearly for any such attempt, I do not entertain any apprehension as to the result of any schemes they may plan."  
—Vol. ii., p. 128.

Military  
precautions.

The total number of foreigners arriving was only 58,000, or an excess of 276 per cent. over the numbers in 1850. Telegraphic arrangements had been concerted between Colonel Reid, R.E., the Chairman of the Executive Committee, and the Chief Commissioner of Police, Mr. Mayne (afterwards Sir Richard), to meet any difficulties of numbers which might arise, but especially to arrest the influx of visitors if the crowd was too great for the building. A black ball was prepared to have been

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Sir George Airy, K. C. B.

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hoisted on the central transept to warn the police that the Exhibition building was full, and that the Park gates were to be closed. But these curious devices were never employed; and it may be said that the great building, even with 93,000 persons in it at one time, was never so crowded as a lady's successful *soirée*.

Increase of  
Police.

LXI. The Chief Commissioner of Police made application for having 1,000 policemen added to the Metropolitan Force, at the cost of £50,000, and obtained them at a cost to the Commission of £19,647.<sup>1</sup>

#### FEARS OF THE WORKING CLASSES.

Working  
Classes Com-  
mittee.

LXII. But the fear of the working classes caused most anxiety. The subject of having a Central Working Classes Committee, who should interest the millions to visit the Exhibition, was discussed for three months, and with many competent persons, as early as April, 1850. On the 6th, at Stoke, Mr. Minton, the potter, employing thousands of workmen, declined to join such a Committee, because he thought it would be interfering with them. On the 15th April, I talked with Colonel Grey, at Buckingham Palace, on the subject; and then, on the 17th April, I called on the Bishop of Oxford, to whom Colonel Grey had spoken. My Diary registers that the Bishop "would leave himself in my hands to do anything necessary about the meeting. On the 19th April, again saw Colonel Grey to discuss the Prince's giving assistance to the Working Class Committee." "The Prince would not attend a public meeting," but "would probably subscribe."

<sup>1</sup> At the close of the Exhibition it was resolved to present gratuities to the police actually employed in and about the building. A question was raised if the money should not be distributed by the Chief Commissioner at

his discretion, in military fashion. Mr. Thomas Baring exclaimed, "Let us give it in the most *civil* way," which meant that the most deserving known to the executive, should be rewarded most.



Colonel Grey asked me to come and see him at all times on this and other subjects. On the 30th April, I called again on the Bishop of Oxford. He had seen the Prince himself, who would not preside at the meeting of the working classes. 4th May, Lord Granville would see Sir Robert Peel about appointment of Working Men's Committee. Sir Robert was rather timid, and afterwards advised its dropping. The Bishop of Oxford, who had made an eloquent speech on the dignity of labour at the Westminster meeting,<sup>1</sup> finally agreed to act as Chairman of the Working Classes Central Committee, for the purpose of communicating with the working classes on the subject of the Exhibition. The Committee was composed of persons well known as promoters of various measures of benevolence for the working classes, and also of acknowledged leaders of the working classes, as follows:—Lord Ashley, now the Earl of Shaftesbury; Richard Andrews, Mayor of Southampton; Thomas Beggs; Robert Chambers, the publisher of a cheap magazine started some years previously at Edinburgh; the Rev. John Cumming, the well-known preacher, remarkable for his belief in the near approach of the end of the world; myself; the Rev. G. Dawson, the popular lecturer at Birmingham, to whose memory his townsmen have erected a statue; Charles Dickens, then in the zenith of his fame with "Nicholas Nickleby;" W. J. Fox, M.P., a Unitarian preacher, who attracted crowds to hear him in Finsbury Chapel; Joshua

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Bishop of  
Oxford,  
chairman.

Members  
of the Com-  
mittee.

<sup>1</sup> The Bishop's speech was stirring throughout, but I extract only a sample:—"What can be nobler than industry and work? It is surely better to work than to talk (*applause*). It is better to lie down at night, and feel that we have worked something, if it were but the least article—the smallest button on any part of our dress—it is better to feel that we have worked that, than to lie down at night with

the consciousness that we have done nothing (*applause*). So this Exhibition, as promoting the industry of nations, is a great and noble work. It calls attention to the dignity of labour—it sets forth in its true light the dignity of the working classes—and it tends to make other people feel the dignity which attaches to the producers of these things."—*Speech at the Westminster Meeting, 21st Feb., 1850.*

Dignity of  
Labour.

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Field, of the firm of Maudslay and Field, great engineers at Lambeth ; John Forster, editor of the "Examiner ;" Charles Gilpin, the publisher, who became M.P. for Northampton, and joined the Ministry ; Robert Hartwell, printer ; Charles Knight, author and publisher ; W. Lovett, the Chartist and schoolmaster ; Rev. H. Mackenzie, rector of St. Martin's ; R. Monckton Milnes, M.P., now Lord Houghton (see Vol. I., p. 17, &c.) ; Francis Place, the tailor at Charing Cross, the friend of Sir Francis Burdett ; the Mills, father and son ; Jeremy Bentham, a leading politician in Westminster ; Dr. Southwood Smith, one of the Commissioners of the First Board of Health ; W. M. Thackeray, with uprising literary fame, busy with his "Pendennis ;" F. J. Le Touzel ; William Tait, publisher of Edinburgh ; Henry Vincent, the Chartist, and lecturer on the History of England ; Sir Joshua Walmsley, M.P. for Leicester ; and others.

Objects of  
the Com-  
mittee.

LXIII. The principal objects which the Committee had in view were—1. To take means for informing the working classes throughout the United Kingdom of the nature and objects of the Exhibition ; 2. To assist in promoting the visits of the working classes to the Exhibition ; 3. To ascertain what means existed for accommodating the working classes in the metropolis during their stay, and to publish the information accordingly. It was not proposed that this Committee should collect any subscriptions from the working classes towards the Exhibition, these being already in progress by the Local Committees throughout the country.

LXIV. The Bishop of Oxford summoned the Committee to meet at the Society of Arts on the 6th May, when J. Forster, C. Knight, W. J. Fox, M. Milnes, Lovett, and others were present, and agreed to request the Commissioners to acknowledge them. His lordship addressed a letter to the Commission, requesting that this Central Committee should be



appointed a Committee under the Royal Commission. The Commission met on the 9th, and there was much discussion. Sir R. Peel was not present. Cobden told me that Lord Stanley objected to the appointment of the Committee, "and if it had been pressed, would have bolted." Lord Granville wished the refusal to be very smooth. So an answer was sent "expressing the approval of the objects of the Committee, requesting that they would communicate with the Commissioners on the subject from time to time, and suggesting that the Committee should remain an independent body, like other self-constituted Committees, which co-operate with the Commission, and for the efficiency of which the special sanction of the Commissioners did not appear to be necessary" (see "Minutes of the Commission," 9th May, 1850). The Prince, who was really favourable to the Committee, told me, on the 16th May, that the Committee might be announced "as acting with the sanction of the Commission." The next day I called on the Bishop of Oxford, and, after telling him what the Prince had said about the sanction, he decided to summon the Committee on the 5th June. I met Northcote, and he agreed "to serve on the Committee." The Bishop laid the Commissioners' answer before the Central Committee, which met at the Society of Arts, 5th June.

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Not ap-  
pointed  
by Commis-  
sion.

LXV. A general discussion took place. The Bishop "pointed out that the Committee was only affiliated to the Commission. G. Dawson objected to the squeamishness of the Commissioners in wanting a precedent. They had a Building Committee; why not a Working Classes Committee? It was mere red-tape objection! and he could not submit to it." Mackenzie thought if the Committee had not declared the necessity, they might act. So thought C. Knight. Dickens was strongly in favour of the necessity of dissolving, and he moved, and then Charles Knight

Discussion  
in Central  
Committee.

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drafted, a resolution, which Vincent seconded, to the following effect, and it was carried unanimously:—"That the letter, in answer to the resolution of the last meeting of this Committee, submitted to the Royal Commission by the Lord Bishop of Oxford, having been read, and not containing the recognition this Committee sought in those resolutions, it is expedient that this Committee at once dissolve itself, considering that without such recognition it can neither efficiently render the services it seeks to perform, nor command the confidence of the working classes" (see "Minutes" of 21st June, 1850). Mr. Vincent said the working classes regarded the Exhibition as a movement to wean them from politics. He was quite friendly himself to it. I told all this to Lord Granville, who was going that day to Osborne. Colonel Reid, in heart a sincere friend to the people, was much averse to this Working Class Committee, and "feared that the Prince should put himself at the head of a democratic movement." The Colonel would sooner there should be a debt of £50,000, than that there should be a great agitation of the "working classes." On the 8th July, he repeated the same idea, and told me "he had been as great a Radical as myself." He had served in Spain on the Liberal side, and though threatened by the King (William IV.) with the loss of his commission if he went, he went with General de Lacy Evans.

Mr. Alexander Redgrave put in charge.

LXVI. At last it was settled that all the questions about the visits of the working classes should be referred to Mr. Alexander Redgrave, who was appointed by the Home Office to see to them. He made a very able report on the number of arrivals in London, about a million and a half more than in 1850; on the number of foreigners, much fewer than were expected; on precautionary measures for the maintenance of order; on the number of accidents, fewer in 1851 than in 1850; on supplies of food, &c.; on



pauperism, which declined in 1851; on public amusements; on crime, which increased only 2 per cent.; on police charges, a decrease of 3 per cent. (only twenty-three offences were committed within the Exhibition—twelve picking pockets, and eleven stealing goods of a value under £5); and arrangements made by the clergy. The Report is worth perusal, even thirty years after it was written, and may be found printed at length in the "First Report of the Commissioners," App. xxiv., p. vii.

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# EXHIBITION OF 1851. INCIDENTS.

LXVII. Before I leave the Exhibition, there are some few memoranda which I made at the time, which I have not noted in my relation up to this point, but which seem to me to be worth introducing. When the Exhibition was within ten days of opening (on 20th April, 1851), I accompanied LORD GRANVILLE over the Pottery Courts in the Exhibition, &c. He asked me "If I had ever expected it to be as grand a thing?" He said "He had despaired last autumn when subscriptions were low and when nobody liked his fellow." So great was Lord Granville's deference for authority, that on 22nd March, he actually "asked my leave to take his nieces into the building!" It was a fact one could never forget in official life.

Lord  
Granville.

LXVIII. I often consulted MULREADY in the numerous difficulties as they arose, and his advice I generally followed. He said with his "dread sagacity,"—as Maclise used to say of him,—"the great object in working the Exhibition appeared to be not to *do*, but to prevent somebody else doing,—and that there was a speck of this feeling everywhere." "Never revenge yourself, there are always abundant instruments to do it for you;" which is similar in idea to Pope's expression, "To be angry is to revenge the faults of

Mulready,  
R.A.

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others on yourself." It was a question with me if I ought to go to the opening in a Court suit. Cobden would not have one. Mulready advised me to have one, as the occasion was not worthy of eccentricity.

C. Barry,  
R.A.

C. BARRY, R.A. (25th July, 1850) said "he would resign if the half-cylinder roof was not placed on the nave," and the Commission decided against it, but on 29th March, 1851, he said he had not resigned, and "that it was omitted out of jealousy of him."

I. K. Brunel.

28th May, 1850. I. K. BRUNEL, telling me of the disputes in the Building Committee, which threatened to make the Exhibition in 1851 impossible for want of a suitable building, said, "Engineers could get on together, but not architects." Dilke and I, as the Executive, were told by Col. Reid that we were not "to attend the Building Committee," as they did not wish us to be present at the wranglings. LORD J. MANNERS wholly disapproved of the Exhibition (31st May, 1850), and COL. SIBTHORP'S hostility has been already noticed.

Lord J.  
Manners.

Prices for  
admission.

LXIX. The question of PRICES of ADMISSION was discussed at the Board of Trade on the 25th January, 1851, by a few Commissioners and the Executive Committee. It was proposed that every officer and every servant should pay before entering, and then have the money refunded. I pointed out the impossibility of having a staff expressly to let in the sweepers and cleaners and housemaids, and to admit them by payment. It was seriously proposed to exclude the Press! I urged that this would be an unprecedented step! that the interest of the Exhibition was to attract the Press to come and report on everything that was going on as much as possible. Instead of making the Press pay for entrance, the very reverse would be the safer policy in my opinion, and I entreated the Commissioners not to make so fatal and suicidal a rule. A member of the

The Press.



Commission exclaimed, "Alas! we are a press-ridden people!" and then the Commissioners present gave up the proposal, and Dilke said to me "You get your way when you are in a minority of one." But I had afterwards to contend for the freest admission of the Press—and at last, on the 11th Feb., Lord Granville agreed to admit the artist of the "Illustrated News" to draw.

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LXX. The arrangement of the objects in the building was not free from constant irritation. On the 19th March, 1851, the Hon. A. KINNAIRD (now Lord Kinnauld) reported to Lord Ashley, who wrote to Lord John Russell, that a crucifix had been ostentatiously exhibited by Pugin, and we had to negotiate with him and Mr. Crace, and they with good feeling agreed to lower the position of this emblem of Christianity.

A crucifix  
exhibited.

The BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY gave us much trouble. It was late beyond the rules, in making application for space, and ought to have been refused, but a place for a twenty-three feet case was found in the *printing* space on the 6th March. The minutes of the Commission show the details of the difficulties which the Society made. They did not show Bibles as specimens of printing, but as a display of their religious enthusiasm in spreading the knowledge of the Bible. All forces were employed to get their own way, contrary to rules. Even Mr. Morton Peto pleaded for them. The point was not settled till after the 27th May, 1851, when the President of the Board of Trade and Lord Granville came to see and settle the position of the Society's case of Bibles.

Bible  
Society's  
exhibit.

xxx  
Bibles a  
exhibits

The 26th May was appointed for the first shilling day. At the opening of the doors, there were hundreds of extra police to receive the great crowds which Mr. Mayne had expected. The public dawdled in by ones and twos, and there was no string of people at the east entrance,

First  
shilling day.

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nearest to London, and scarcely anybody at the west and other entrances. The public were *kept away by the apprehension that the crowds would be enormous.*

LXXI. All PREDICTIONS were more or less erroneous.

7th Feb., 1850. COBDEN brought Friend Sturges to the building. He thought more would be got by £1 admittances than season tickets, and Peto said not 5000 season tickets would be sold. There were 25,605 sold, which realized £67,514, and only 1042 paid for £1 admissions. 12th Feb. Mr. Tyrrell, the City Remembrancer, wrote to a friend of the contractors, and valued the profits at £300,000.

Pressure  
for space.

LXXII. The demand for space was enormous and unreasonable. A Paisley deputation came up, on the 29th Jan., to demand 9,000 feet of wall space with two feet horizontal in front, which some travelling authority had promised them. An engineer threatened Colonel Reid with writing to the "Times," because he would not increase the 800 square feet of allotment made to him, which raised the Colonel's temper, not often disturbed. 20th Feb. A Manchester deputation "wanted delay till April 1st, with power to continue granting allotments," which it was quite impossible to grant.

Enemies  
become  
friends.

T. L.  
Peacock.

Sir R.  
Inglis.

LXXIII. When the success of the Exhibition was confirmed, a revolution in public opinion took place. I knew persons (Thomas Love Peacock, for example, among them) who abstained from going to the Exhibition for many weeks after the opening, but went once, and afterwards every day till it closed. Sir Robert Inglis, member for Oxford University (see note, p. 6), had up to this time almost avoided me for my action with the Record Commission in former years. He had howled against the use of Hyde Park, but soon after the opening of the Exhibition (22nd May), he came up to me in the building, took both my hands, and with blushes and pleasure in his face said, "Mr. Cole, I recant all my opposition to this Exhibition; I congratu-



late you heartily on its success, and now regard it as a thing to thank God for."

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EXHIBITION  
OF 1851.

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Part I.  
C. Dickens.

LXXIV. On the 20th October, 1850, I had an evening walk with STONE, A.R.A., and DICKENS, at Broadstairs; the latter was much opposed to wasting twenty-one days before the shilling days of admission to the Exhibition commenced. He did not at all realize the position of the Guarantors, on whom rested the responsibility of the finance, and not upon the Government. He only visited the Exhibition twice, I believe. Miss Dickens sends me the following extract from a letter:—"I find I am 'used up' by the Exhibition. I don't say there is nothing in it: there's too much. I have only been twice, so many things bewilder one. I have a natural horror of sights, and the fusion of so many sights in one, had not decreased it. I am not sure that I have seen anything but the Fountain (Crystal Fountain), and the Amazon." (25th July, 1851.)

25th July, 1851. The driver of the Wendover coach told me that "two countrymen came to town for some days. They went first to the Exhibition, but had enough of it in an hour, and spent the rest of their holidays at Hayes Agricultural show."

LXXV. Excluding the Koh-i-noor Diamond, Lieutenant Tyler, R.E., afterwards Captain Tyler, Inspector of Railways, and now Sir Henry Tyler, M.P., Chairman of the Grand Trunk Railway Company of Canada, made a careful estimate of the value of the objects in the Exhibition. Those of the United Kingdom were valued at £1,031,607 4s. 9d.; of the Colonies at £79,901 15s.; those of Foreign Countries at £670,420 11s. 7d.—Total £1,781,929 11s. 4d. How to watch over this property at night, engaged the minds of the Prince, Lord Granville, Mr. Cubitt, Mr. Mayne, Commissioner of Police, and the Executive Committee. Colonel Reid proposed to surround the building with a military

Value of  
exhibits.

Watching  
the building.

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Police.

A Russian  
visit.

Fire ar-  
rangements.

*Chevaux-de-frise* and upright iron railings 8 feet high. Owen Jones objected that this would destroy the sentiment of the building, and he designed an ornamental iron railing which the Prince decided to adopt. I talked the subject over with Mulready, R.A., who urged simply careful watching by police, which I advocated too; Mr. Mayne accepted the responsibility, and the work was done perfectly; Mr. Pearce being the Superintendent over 4 Inspectors, 25 Sergeants, and 334 Constables, who were employed as circumstances made it necessary. Just sufficient lighting was used to show any movement in the building, and the police wore list shoes. On one night a party of Russian *savans* had been dining with Dr. Lindley, Superintendent of the Colonies, and expressed a wish particularly to see how the night watching was done without soldiers, whose absence always astonished them. So the Russians were admitted into the building, and proceeded down the nave in the dim light to the Russian Court. They saw nobody! They exclaimed "How wonderful! we could take away this Moscow casket," touching it, "worth thousands of pounds, and no one to prevent us!" The moment they turned round, they were surprised by finding themselves surrounded by a dozen policemen ready to capture them. Captain Gibbs, R.E., was in charge of the precautions against fire which he detailed in his report (1st Report of Commissioners, App. No. XXVI., p. 130). "The whole of the 200 men of the Royal Sappers had been drilled to the fire-engines, and made acquainted with all the arrangements undertaken to provide for the immediate extinction of any fire. A piquet of 24 men was mounted in the building at 8 p.m., and remained all night." Only a slight fire occurred in the day-time, which was occasioned by cotton waste, but it was instantly extinguished.

LXXVI. 7th October, 1851. 109,000 visitors were in the



building this day. When at its fullest, 93,000 present, the Duke of Wellington came, and although cautioned by the police, he would walk up the nave in the midst of the crowd. He was soon recognized and cheered. The distant crowds were alarmed, and raised the cry that the "building was falling." There was a rush. Fortunately six policemen had followed the Duke, and literally carried him off, pale and indignant, by the side passages, as I saw when coming out from my office. The crowds upset a stand of French Palissy ware, and the first persons to get out of the building were the sentries. Nothing worse happened, and it was the only accident during the Exhibition.

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EXHIBITION  
OF 1851.  
A. D.  
1849-1852.  
Part I.  
Duke of  
Wellington's  
escape.

LXXVII. 11th October, 1851, Saturday. The Exhibition closed to the public with a spontaneous *extempore* ceremony of the organ playing "God save the Queen;" the people joining heartily in the Chorus. My little son Alan, five years old, was mounted on the shoulders of Mr. J. C. Macdonald, the successor to Mr. Mowbray Morris as one of the managers of the "Times," and excitedly called upon everybody near about him to take off their hats. Then came hurrahs prolonged for half an hour, which were quite touching and impressive. Tears were freely shed. The thousands present would not depart at the usual ringing of the bells, and the building was not cleared till nearly seven. It made us all rather nervous, but the day ended well.

Last day.

LXXVIII. 15th October, 1851. A wet day, and proceedings rather solemn. Lord Canning reported the Juries' decisions. Lord Granville offered £3,000 honorarium to Colonel Reid, which he accepted and then declined. Also to Dilke, who, declined also. He told us that the Commandership of the Bath was to be given to Colonel Reid, and that Knighthood was to be conferred on W. Cubitt, Paxton, Fox, and Dilke, but Dilke declined the honour. The Companionship of the Bath was to be given to Sir Stafford Northcote,

Jurors'  
reports.

Honours.

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Part I.  
Lord Pal-  
merston on  
Exhibition.

Playfair, and myself (see Vol. II. for notices in the Gazette, p. 231).

LXXIX. I record some remarks of Lord Palmerston and Lord Macaulay. Lord Palmerston wrote to Lord Normanby, 2nd May, 1851: "The royal party (on the occasion of the opening) were received with continued acclamation as they passed through the parks and round the Exhibition House; and it was also very interesting to witness the cordial greeting given to the Duke of Wellington. I was just behind him and Anglesey, within two of them, during the procession round the building, and he was accompanied by an incessant running fire of applause from the men and waving of handkerchiefs and kissing of hands from the women, who lined the pathway of march during the three-quarters of an hour that it took us to march round. . . ." "It was indeed a glorious day for England. . . ." <sup>1</sup>

Lord  
Macaulay on  
Exhibition.

LXXX. Macaulay wrote at the ending:—"This has been the last week of the Great Exhibition. It makes me quite sad to think of our many, many happy walks there. Tomorrow I shall go to the final ceremony, and try to hear the Bishop of London's thanksgiving, in which I shall very cordially join. This will long be remembered as a singularly happy year of peace, plenty, good feeling, innocent pleasure, national glory of the best and purest sort."—14th October, 1851. <sup>2</sup>

Paris fête.

LXXXI. Paris gave a magnificent *fête* lasting a week to the Commissioners, the Executive, and the Lord Mayor of London, &c. The Prince's health, in August, after all the anxiety about the guarantee and the building, needed repose, and he declined the invitation in language of conspicuous courtesy, which the French fully appreciated. "England was admirably represented by Lord Granville.

<sup>1</sup> Ashley's "Life of Lord Palmerston," p. 178.

<sup>2</sup> Macaulay, "Life," vol. ii., p. 205. To his niece Margaret.



He charmed his hosts (at the Hôtel de Ville) by responding for the Commissioners, whose health formed the toast of the day, in a French speech, free and flowing, and full of telling points. Criticism was forgotten in enthusiasm, and had he been Demosthenes himself speaking with the purest French accent, he could not have commanded more genuine applause."<sup>1</sup>

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Part I.  
Lord  
Granville's  
speech.

My personal adventures in this visit to Paris were irksome, but farcical. Mr. D—— (a juror) and his wife agreed to go in the same carriage with us. Mrs. Cole and myself breakfasted, and started from Notting-hill in ample time to get to London Bridge Station, for the special train leaving about 9 a.m. We called for our companions in Fitzroy Square. They were not down, and had not breakfasted! We made the mistake of waiting for them more than half an hour, and at last got off. When we arrived in Rathbone Place, D—— found out he had left his keys behind, and we were obliged to return for them, and we arrived at London Bridge just in time to see the special train off, and thus lost all the comfortable arrangements which had been made for our reaching Paris as soon as possible. We, and others late, were accordingly mixed up with the usual foreign passenger train, and the luggage of everybody was sent adrift anywhere—some to Brussels, some to Paris, and some left at Boulogne, which so appalled the *Douane* in quantity, that they returned it to England, and some was found at Dover and some at London. No refreshments were to be had at Boulogne, and scarcely anything at Amiens. We did not arrive in Paris till twelve at night, and could find no luggage. I had engaged a room at Meurice's, of which our companions took possession. At last, through the help of Mr. De La Rue, we got a little room to be in. The following morning, the

My misfor-  
tunes.

Luggage  
lost.

<sup>1</sup> "Life of Prince Consort," vol. ii., p. 388.

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Part I.

Borrowed  
clothes.

Dinner at  
Hôtel de  
Ville.

Festivities.

first work the ladies did was to go out shopping and buy bonnets and trimmings. A grand banquet was to be given at the Hôtel de Ville that evening, and the contrivances of the ladies in adorning and metamorphosing their travelling dresses to make them passable at the dinner, were amusing. Every Englishman and woman we met, were in the same predicament. I had to borrow clothes; Mr. De La Rue, who was double my cubical capacity, kindly lent me a huge pair of black trousers, which were made to fit as best they could, and the only coat I could obtain was one from M. Meurice, with buttons under my shoulder-blades and tails coming down to my heels, which had been made in the period of the Empire. The appearance of almost every Englishman at dinner, was as odd as my own, but we sympathized in each other's misfortunes, and the dinner passed off well, and was of a superb kind. The company was parcelled out into parties of four, each party was served with the same courses, accompanied by no fewer than sixteen changes of excellent wine. No clothes found the next day. The cry throughout Paris during the week was, "Have you got your clothes?" But on the 4th August, they turned up in time for the President's reception at St. Cloud. The President was making friends with the army, and the palace was filled with soldiers, who devoured the luncheon and champagne first of all, and handed the fragments to the lady visitors out of the windows. The *fête* at the embassy, the review in the *Champ de Mars*, the performance at the *Théâtre Français*, the dinner with the Minister of Agriculture, M. Buffet, all came in succession, until we left Paris on the 8th, and the D—s were as usual too late for the train, and we came away without them.

LXXXII. On the day of the closing of the Exhibition, the Prince addressed gratifying letters of thanks to Dilke and myself. To Dilke he wrote :—



"MY DEAR SIR,—Now that the Exhibition has closed its happy career, allow me to express to you, as one of those who stood by its cradle, helped in its education, and served it truly and zealously after it had been brought to maturity, my sense of the assiduity and ability with which you have discharged the various duties entrusted to you.

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Letter from  
Prince  
Albert to  
Dilke.

"It was my intention, as a remembrance of our personal connection in this work, to have presented you this day with a medal, and I hope still to do so, though disappointed for the moment by the illness of Mr. Wyon, which has prevented its being completed. I could not delay, however, my acknowledgments beyond to-day.

"Believe me always, yours truly,

"ALBERT."

The Prince's letter to myself was as follows:—

To Cole.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I hoped to-day, after the happy close of the Exhibition, to have presented to you a medal as a token of remembrance of our long connection in this work, but am obliged to use your words, 'That it will be given out when the arrangements for it shall be completed,' which I hope, however, will be soon.

"You have been one of the few who originated the design, became its exponent to the public, and fought its battles in adversity, and belong now to those who share in its triumphs, and it must be as pleasing to you to reflect how much you have contributed to them by your untiring exertions, as it is to me to acknowledge my sense of them.

"Believe me always yours truly,

"ALBERT."

"Windsor Castle, October 15th, 1851."

LXXXIII. The first Report of the Commissioners gives a full account of all the statistics. It is sufficient for this volume, to say that the total receipts from all sources were £561,243, and that on 1st March, 1852, the balance, after paying all expenses then incurred, was £213,305. How the greater part of this was employed will be stated in another chapter. The total number of visitors was 6,039,195, and the greatest number in the building on any one day (7th October), was 109,915. The different daily rates of admission

Statistics.

X X

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EXHIBITION  
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produced the following results: £1 admission, £2,129; five shillings admission, £74,907; two shillings and sixpence admission, £91,336; one shilling admission, £285,872 (v. p. 162).

Future  
prospects of  
the Crystal  
Palace.

LXXXIV. When it was ascertained that there would be a surplus on the Exhibition, I published a pamphlet advocating the retention of the Glass House. The title of the pamphlet was, "Shall we keep the Crystal Palace, and have riding and walking in all weathers among flowers, fountains, and sculpture? By Denarius." Several editions of it were published by Murray, 8vo. Lord Stanley, who afterwards succeeded to the title of Lord Derby (14th earl), asked the Prince if "Denarius" was not the Latin for "*Carbon?*" The Prince was not favourable to keeping up the building as a Winter Garden, at least in the Park, although inclined to its removal to Battersea, which Lord Seymour also favoured.<sup>1</sup> The Prince considered that the profits of the Exhibition could be used for a better purpose than mere recreation. A Commission, consisting of Lord Seymour, Sir Wm. Cubitt, and Dr. Lindley, was appointed "to ascertain the price at which the Government could purchase the building, the cost at which it could be converted into a permanent structure, the site which should be preferred for its continuance, the cost of removing and refixing it, the purposes to which it might be advantageously applied, and the probable expenditure which would be required for its maintenance;" but I believe the report was not published. Finally, a company was formed, and transported the materials to Sydenham, where they were used in the construction of the Crystal Palace.

Crystal  
Palace at  
Sydenham.

LXXXV. After the close of the Exhibition, Prince Albert,

<sup>1</sup> "Lord Seymour had a plan prepared. He hinted that if £200,000 of the surplus were contributed by the Exhibition, and Government were in-

duced to give double, a very fine thing near London might be done" (29 Oct., 1851, "Diary").



as President of the Society of Arts, suggested to the Council that a series of "Lectures on the Results of the Great Exhibition of 1851" should be delivered before the Society; and it was done. Dr. Whewell, Master of Trinity College, delivered the first lecture, on "The General Bearing of the Great Exhibition on the Progress of Art and Science," and I concluded the series with an address, on "The International Results of the Exhibition of 1851" (see Vol. II. p. 233).

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Part I.

Lectures on  
the Exhibi-  
tion.



## WORK WITH INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS (*continued*).

THE PARIS EXHIBITION, 1855.

### PART I.

1853-1856.

#### I.

PARIS  
EXHIBITION  
OF 1855.  
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Part I.



HE International Exhibitions following that of 1851, with the carrying out of which my father was connected, were those in Paris in 1855, in London in 1862, in Paris in 1867, and again in London in 1871, 1872, 1873, and 1874.

Paris Exhi-  
bition of  
1855 ad-  
ministered  
by Govern-  
ment.

II. The Paris Exhibition of 1855 was virtually managed by the French Government, and in this important respect differed from the Great Exhibition of 1851, which, as has been seen, was the offspring of British private enterprise. There was consequently little anxious work in France, in the fostering of a favourable public opinion to aid in carrying out the "Exposition Universelle" as it was called. Friendly rivalry to surpass England's success of 1851 was, no doubt, valuable as an impetus to French action in 1855. "As it appeared to the British Government to be very doubtful if voluntary association and private enterprise would produce an adequate representation of British art



and industry in Paris, corresponding to the efforts which the French Government had made in 1851," application was made to Parliament for funds for, managing the allotment of space to British exhibitors, giving facilities for the transport of exhibitors' goods from this country to Paris, and paying expenses of British Jurors appointed upon the International Jury for the award of medals.

PARIS  
EXHIBITION  
OF 1855.  
A. D.  
1853-1856.  
Part I.

III. The success of the Exhibition of 1851 had led many influential personages to regard my father as a principal authority upon the management of kindred enterprises, and in the course of his work in the reform of the Schools of Design (a work which will be more fully discussed in a subsequent chapter), he attended the Lord Lieutenant (Earl of Clarendon) in June, 1852, upon the occasion of the opening of the Cork Exhibition. Early in 1853 I find entries in my father's diaries relating to his preparation of instructions to the Commissioners appointed to proceed to the Exhibition which was held that year in New York. About May of this year, the holding of the Paris Exhibition in 1855 had been bruited,<sup>1</sup> and whilst my father was staying at Witley Court he asked Lord Ward (now Earl Dudley) to take part in the forthcoming Paris Exhibition, which Lord Ward agreed to do.

Cork Exhi-  
bition, 1852.

New York  
Exhibition,  
1853.

IV. Some notes which my father had written to be used in connection with his chapter upon International Exhibitions, run thus:—

"The Official Reports of the Exhibitions of 1855 and 1867,"<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The first Imperial announcement of the Exhibition is dated 8th March, 1853. The next Imperial decree is dated 22nd June, 1853.

<sup>2</sup> Reports on the Paris Universal Exhibition, Part I. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty. Printed by George

E. Eyre and William Spottiswoode, Printers to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty for Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1856.

The Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners for the Universal Exhibition of Works of Industry, Agriculture, and Fine Art, held at Paris in

PARIS  
EXHIBITION  
OF 1855.

A.D.  
1853-1856.  
Part I.

which it was my duty to make as the Executive Commissioner of these Exhibitions, are public documents which have been printed and laid before Parliament, and any persons who are interested in the history of these Exhibitions will find it fully told in these documents. I shall therefore confine myself in this work to the relation of events rather personal than official. When in 1853, Mr. (now Viscount) Cardwell wished me to take part in the Paris Exhibition, being fully engaged with the work of the new Science and Art Department, I did all that I could to induce him to appoint Mr. C. Wentworth Dilke, as Chief Commissioner with full responsibility. Baffled in this, I went heartily into the work, but my first duties and thoughts were with the Science and Art Department, and I seized every opportunity for benefiting that Department through the Paris Exhibition of 1855. I was equally, perhaps more strongly, moved with this aim in the Exhibition of 1867. In my journeys to and from Paris, in 1855, &c., I visited the provincial museums of Boulogne, Amiens, Beauvais, Chartres, Rouen, Tours, Toulouse, besides studying the museums and collections in Paris, and I induced Lord Stanley of Alderley, who had succeeded as President of the Board of Trade, to accompany me as far as possible when he came to Paris."

Estimated  
cost of  
British Sec-  
tion.

V. Some alarm was manifested by the President of the Board of Trade when, in January, 1854, he received my father's estimate for an expenditure of £70,000 in respect of the Paris Exhibition. The estimate as ultimately presented to Parliament was for £52,356, and upon the close of the work connected with the Exhibition, my father had succeeded in keeping the expenditure within £39,259, and as Parliament had voted £50,000 only, there was a balance unexpended of some £10,700.

Preliminary  
arrange-  
ments.

VI. It was decided on the 11th February, 1854, that the Science and Art Department should carry out the work of

the year 1867. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty. London: Printed by George E. Eyre and William Spottis-

woode, Printers to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, for Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1869.



the British section of the Paris Exhibition, and that the chief portion of the Department's staff should be in Paris for two months in 1855. On the 14th, however, the President of the Board of Trade asked if the British Exhibitors would not carry out the Paris Exhibition for £20,000? Some uncertainty hung over the English Government's share in the work of carrying out the Paris Exhibition. The question was mooted whether the Royal Commissioners of the Exhibition of 1851, should not act instead of the Government. At length it became necessary for some one to visit Paris to confer with the French authorities. On the 23rd April, Mr. Cole, accompanied by Mr. Richard Redgrave, R.A., went to Paris to consult with Lord Cowley (the British Ambassador) and the Imperial Commission, and to inspect the building, which was then in course of erection. The French Executive were anxious that England should make a demand for much space. Mr. Cole said, "We can demand none, but we will do our best with any."<sup>1</sup> Upon his return to London he went to see Colonel Grey, and hinted "that the Commissioners of 1851 should undertake the French Exhibition."<sup>1</sup> His Royal Highness the Prince Consort having, however, other views as to the public work the Commissioners should be asked to undertake, preferred to speak to Lord Clarendon, then Foreign Secretary, upon the matter. On the same day (3rd May), during an interview with Lord Stanley of Alderley and Mr. Cardwell, Mr. Cardwell "wished everything to be done that the French could desire."<sup>1</sup> Still no decision had been made who was to be the recognized representative of Great Britain at Paris in 1855. It appears that means of screwing Ministers' courage "to the sticking point" of decisive action were required at this time. Mr. Cobden

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EXHIBITION  
OF 1855.  
A.D.  
1853-1856.  
Part I.

Uncertainty  
of British  
Government  
in assisting  
Exhibition.

<sup>1</sup> Diary.

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EXHIBITION  
OF 1855.  
A.D.  
1853-1856.  
Part I.  
Commission  
of Manage-  
ment pro-  
posed.

Visit of  
H.M. the  
Queen to  
Gore House.

Decision of  
Government  
to manage  
Exhibition.

agreed to ask questions in the House of Commons, as to the Government's assistance at the Paris Exhibition. On the 9th May, Lord Granville was asked to be on a Commission of Management with Mr. Cardwell and Lord Stanley of Alderley. Lord Granville agreed to assist; and Lord Stanley considered thereupon, that the work should not be conducted in the name of the Board of Trade, but in that of a separate Commission. Matters were thus progressing, when two days later, it was announced that the Government did "not like the Paris Exhibition at all, nor the probable expense it would entail."<sup>1</sup> On the 17th May, Her Majesty the Queen, the Prince Consort, the Princess Royal, and Princess Alice visited Gore House, where an Exhibition of Art Students' works had been arranged. The Prince "hoped the French Exhibition would be carried out well," adding that "as we were spending so much in destruction (in the Crimea), we ought to spend some in construction."<sup>1</sup>

VII. This remark of the Prince's had perhaps in some way sealed the determination of the Government, for on the Friday following, a decision was announced that the Paris Exhibition should be undertaken by the Government. Captain H. Owen, R.E., was to be financial officer and secretary. Forms of application for space were to be issued to intending exhibitors at once. Mr. Cardwell observed that "it was a good thing that the motive power (meaning my father) had plenty of energy, as he and Lord Stanley were restrained by discretion."<sup>1</sup> An Executive Committee was appointed, consisting of Mr. Cole, Dr. Lyon Playfair, and Mr. Richard Redgrave, R.A.

VIII. Difficulties at the outset threatened the smooth discharge of the Executive Committee's duties, for the Secretary was constituted the channel for passing instructions from the Minister to the executive, and reporting

<sup>1</sup> Diary.



progress from the executive to the Minister. This procedure was no sooner tried than abandoned. The inconvenience of a secretary being interposed between ministers and their executive, quickly made itself felt.

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IX. Steps were now taken to induce certain leading manufacturers throughout the country, to exhibit at Paris. It was the first time that they had been asked to contribute to a foreign International Exhibition. Obstacles might have been expected to arise and restrain them from giving ready assent to the undertaking. The leaders in the various branches of manufacture, however, who were consulted, responded favourably. "The Council of the Civil Engineers passed a resolution in favour of the Paris Exhibition." "Mr. Stephenson, the celebrated engineer, would send a locomotive."<sup>1</sup> Spitalfields silk manufacturers, London furniture makers, producers of hardware, were severally consulted, and agreed to take part in the Exhibition. At Coventry, a meeting of manufacturers was to have been held; but the importance of the Paris Exhibition was thrown altogether in the background by the fair and Lady Godiva's procession, which caused such a bustle throughout the town that the Mayor's promise to convene the meeting was forgotten. Personal visits to different firms answered the purpose instead, and Coventry determined to properly represent herself at the Exhibition, as did Stoke, Sheffield, and Macclesfield, which towns Mr. Cole visited at this time.

Visits to the  
manufacturing  
centres.

X. The greater portion of the summer vacation in 1854, my father passed at Boulogne, whence he could conveniently visit either Paris or London as his work might require. The visits to Paris were regarded suspiciously by certain members of Parliament, who were averse to Government servants taking part in the organization of the

Preliminary  
visits to  
Paris.

<sup>1</sup> Diary.

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British section of the Exhibition. One or two prominent members suspected that the visits to Paris were chiefly undertaken for pleasure's sake; and their suspicions reaching headquarters, had some influence there. When important questions arose in October as to allotment of space, it was hinted that an official visit to Paris was needless. At the same time, my father was constantly reminded that upon him lay the responsibility of carrying everything to a successful issue. Such vexations, however, did not prevent him from proceeding with his work, and early in November he spent five days in Paris discussing allotment of space to the United Kingdom and its colonies. Three buildings were to be used: the Palais de l'Industrie in the Champs Elysées, an annexe for Machinery along the quay of the Seine, at the back of the Palais, and a special building in the Avenue Montaigne, for the Fine Arts. The authorities of the Board of Trade had proposed and then decided against a house being taken for the official staff. But one was ultimately taken in the Rue du Cirque, off the Champs Elysées.

Arrange-  
ments for ad-  
ministration  
of British  
Section.

XI. On the 15th November "Lord Stanley of Alderley asked if the £50,000 would cover the cost of the Exhibition. I said I thought two-thirds would do. To which Lord Stanley replied, 'That would be a work well done.'"<sup>1</sup> Five days later, the President of the Board of Trade "would not define the responsibility of Playfair and myself—any questions were to be referred to him. Owen conducted the correspondence. The public would look to Playfair for scientific objects, to myself for industrial."<sup>1</sup> But the boundaries of these two divisions could not be stated, and there was a feeling that the vagueness would tend to raise up difficulties and unnecessary double work. On the 3rd January, 1855, Captain Owen wished to go

<sup>1</sup> Diary.



on military service to the Crimea, and Captain Fowke, R.E., was appointed in his stead. The very next day, "Mr. Cardwell asked me to undertake the Paris Exhibition, and would hold me responsible for its punctual opening."<sup>1</sup>

A consultative staff was accordingly constituted, the members of which were Mr. Redgrave, Dr. Playfair, Captain Fowke, and Mr. Cole, as executive commissioner. The national importance of the work rather pointed to the appointment of a British Royal Commission, but this was postponed. On the 23rd February, 1855, Mr. Cardwell resigned office, together with Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Sydney Herbert, and Sir J. Graham.

XII. One of the early vexed questions at Paris, grew out of the dangerous proximity of a sugar refinery and its furnaces, to the building specially constructed for the fine art works, pictures, sculpture, &c. British owners of pictures could not be expected to run any increased risks besides those of the transport of their possessions from England to Paris. The British Ambassador, Lord Cowley, quite concurred in this opinion. It became necessary therefore to bring such pressure upon the Imperial Commission as should get rid of the threatened danger to the Fine Arts. Lord Cowley accordingly took an early occasion of seeing M. Fould.<sup>2</sup> Lord Cowley proposed that the British Government should purchase the sugar refinery premises, upon which M. Fould showed a readiness to get rid of the dangers himself. Four days later, however, he appeared to withdraw from his intention. Negotiations to obtain loans of objects from possessors of pictures and works of art were in progress, and no time was to be lost. Either the refinery must be bought off, or the *venue* of the Exhibition of Pictures and Sculptures changed. Mr. Cole

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Safety of  
Collections  
of Fine Art  
imperilled.

<sup>1</sup> Diary.

<sup>2</sup> Monsieur Achille Fould, Prime Minister of France.

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promptly offered to Lord Cowley to be responsible for raising a subscription to buy off the refinery. Five more valuable days elapsed, during which it was thought that M. Fould would return to his original decision. But the immediate result of the consultations during those days, was, that M. Fould announced that he was averse to negotiating with the proprietor of the refinery. Lord Cowley accordingly asked Mr. Cole at once to return to England to obtain a settlement of the question. He started, but had not proceeded beyond Creil, when he was telegraphed for to return. The following morning Dr. Playfair and Captain Fowke arrived in Paris. They, with Mr. Cole, proceeded to the British Embassy, and accompanying Lord Cowley, went to the Tuileries, where the party interviewed M. Fould, who agreed that a high wall should be erected between the sugar refinery and the fine arts building, and that injunctions should be imposed upon the refiners to take special precautions. On the 21st March—"With Playfair at the buildings. Went over the refinery with him. Met M. Fould there with architects; the building of the wall was agreed on."<sup>1</sup> A syndic of brokers had to be made aware of all that was taking place in respect of the refinery. On the 22nd March—"With Playfair to M. Fould; saw the syndic of the brokers. To refinery with syndic. Proprietors agreed to improve the premises, but hesitated to remove the retorts. Writing to M. Fould."<sup>1</sup> The manner in which the various forces required for the settlement of this question, were put and kept in operation until the desired end was obtained, is, I think, somewhat typical of my father's method of proceeding to effect a remedy. On the occasion of the Exhibition of 1867, twelve years later, the arrival of "ce terrible Cole" was announced at an evening party at the Tuileries by Marshal Vaillant, the then Minister of Fine Arts. The

<sup>1</sup> Diary.



remembrance evidently survived of an official, who, to get a wrong, great or small, rectified, seemed to have little hesitation in going, if circumstances appeared to require it, from secretary to minister, and minister to sovereign!

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XIII. The opening of the Exhibition had been fixed for the 1st May. But the delays in completing the building, and handing over the spaces assigned to the various countries to the respective commissioners, prevented the announced date from being adhered to. In the Palais de l'Industrie, the floor of the basement was being relaid on the 4th April! whilst in the annexe for the machinery, neither floor nor foundations were finished. "Works of all nations muddled, goods received at several parts of the building, no means for moving machinery, no goods removed into gallery, no derricks, but a large scaffold."<sup>1</sup> The issue of notifications about the opening ceremonial on the 1st May, was commenced on the 24th April, both M. Arlès-Dufour and M. Tresca seeming to think that the appointed time would be kept. However, the actual condition of the arrangements on the 27th April, made it evident that the Exhibition would not be ready. "Attempted several times to learn if the opening was delayed," but was unsuccessful. "Met M. Fould, who said that opening was postponed until 10th May."<sup>1</sup> The next day the postponement was extended to the 15th May. On the 6th May, a Sunday, the Emperor visited the Exhibition buildings, and Lord Cowley presented Mr. Cole, Dr. Playfair, Mr. Redgrave, and Captain Fowke to His Majesty. During the later days of preparing for the opening, difficulties were occasioned by the imperfect arrangements for receiving goods, as well as by certain red-tape rules which forbade the unpacking of objects in the buildings after the 10th May. Against these it became

Postponement of opening of the Exhibition. Delays in arrangements.

<sup>1</sup> Diary.

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Part I.

Opening of  
Exhibition.

Imperfec-  
tions of  
buildings.

necessary to remonstrate, especially in respect of valuable and fragile goods, which the French authorities maintained should be unpacked in the roads! A meeting of Foreign Commissioners was convened, and Baron Rothschild was asked to be the president of the meeting; Baron von Viebahn (Commissioner for Prussia) and Mr. Cole were requested to be vice-presidents. These delegates of the Foreign Commissioners waited upon the Prince Napoleon. On the following day (12th May), a discussion took place between the delegates and the Imperial Commission. At the meeting "Prince Napoleon stormed and smoked," whilst General Morin, Arlès-Dufour, Thibaudeau, the Prince's aide-de-camp, the architect, and others, "all jabbered away," the proceedings were "very animated, like an Irish row."<sup>1</sup> The opening ceremony took place on the 15th May, but it was neither "decorous nor imposing, no religious element, music feeble, and procession confused."<sup>1</sup> In the evening a ball given for the English poor at the Jardin d'Hiver, was "pretty, much more so than the morning's business."

XIV. Throughout the period of the Exhibition, complaints were frequent against the imperfections of the building. In one court the sun's heat melted wax objects, whilst the sunlight damaged the delicate colours of Oriental textiles, in another the rain poured in upon iron and steel, and other metal exhibits, and standing puddles slowly percolated into the ground. But besides these inconveniences, other annoyances were caused to exhibitors. Motive power for the machinery had been promised by the Imperial Commission, but by the 24th June no machines were regularly in motion. On the 25th, however, the French had afforded steam to themselves and not to the foreigners. At the suggestion of Captain Fowke, I think, it was proposed to put up a placard, "*Les machines ne marchent pas*,

<sup>1</sup> Diary.



faute de vapeur promise par la Commission Impu-  
 corde, which was objected to by Mons. Le Play, who, how-  
 ever, felt the force of the statement by arranging that  
 all the machinery, French and foreign, should be simulta-  
 neously provided with steam according to the original  
 promise. Indeed, it is difficult to understand why any sort  
 of difficulty should have arisen, as at the very time that  
 the placard was proposed, there were two sets of pipes and  
 boilers ready for supplying steam. It was said that the  
 simultaneous supply of steam to foreign countries and to  
 France, had been desired, but "technical difficulties only  
 had prevented this."<sup>1</sup>

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XV. The numerous *contretemps* in official relations seem  
 to have stimulated evidences of social kindness and hospi-  
 tality, in the form of dinners, déjeuners, banquets, recep-  
 tions, and such like. My father, not a fluent speaker of  
 French, was sufficiently careful and deliberate to be able  
 to make himself understood. On an occasion when the  
 Foreign Commissioners dined together, he returned thanks  
 in French, and proposed the health of the Emperor. His  
 deed of daring was hailed with cries of "à l'alliance  
 Anglaise," and he was assured that his speech had been  
 "spirituel," "parfait comme votre Exposition," full of  
 "humeur Anglaise," &c. Towards the end of July, the  
 Foreign Commissioners entertained Prince Napoleon at  
 dinner at the Jardin d'Hiver. The affair was organized  
 chiefly by Monsieur Sallandrouze, but it was a "poor  
 dinner" and "not well served," there being a perfect  
 "scramble for coffee at the end of it."<sup>1</sup>

Official hos-  
 pitalities.

XVI. One of the most brilliant incidents in Paris  
 during the Exhibition, was the visit of Her Majesty the  
 Queen and Prince Albert. Concerning this my father had  
 made an extract from the "Life of the Prince Consort,"

Visit of  
 H. M. the  
 Queen to  
 Paris.

<sup>1</sup> Diary.

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necessary he intended to insert in the course of his chapter upon the Paris Exhibition. It is the account mainly written by Her Majesty, of the arrival in France of the royal party and their reception by the Emperor. The Queen's yacht had drawn up alongside of the quay at Boulogne.

"At length the bridge was adjusted. The Emperor stepped across, and I met him half-way, and embraced him twice; after which he led me on shore amidst acclamations, salutes, and every sound of joy and respect. We four [the Queen, Prince, Prince of Wales, and Princess Royal] entered a landau carriage, and drove through the crowded and decorated streets, the Emperor escorting us himself on horseback, to the railway station, which was thronged with an enthusiastic crowd, largely composed of ladies.

"Brief halts were made at Abbeville and Amiens, where the same crowds and the same eager welcome awaited the Royal visitors. The beauty of the country between Amiens and Paris arrested the Queen's attention; but by this time 'the sun got lower, and the Emperor became very anxious we should reach Paris. . . . At length we passed St. Leu, Montmorency—both charmingly situated—then got a glimpse of Montmartre, my first sight of Paris . . . and at last we passed the fortifications and Paris opened upon us . . . We at length entered the *Gare du Chemin de Fer de Strasbourg*, which was lit up and beautifully decorated, lined with troops, and filled with people; Prince Napoleon, Maréchal Magnan, General Löwestein commanding the Garde Nationale. The coup-d'œil, as we proceeded to our carriage, was magnificent.'

"Imagine this beautiful city, with its broad streets and lofty houses, 'decorated in the most tasteful manner possible, with banners, flags, arches, flowers, inscriptions, and finally illuminations, full of people, lined with troops, National Guards, and troops of the Line, and Chasseurs d'Afrique, beautifully kept, and most enthusiastic! And yet this gives but a faint notion of this triumph, as it was. There were endless cries of '*Vive la Reine d'Angleterre!*' '*Vive l'Empereur!*' '*Vive le Prince Albert!*' The approaching twilight rather added to the beauty of the scene; and it was still quite light enough when we passed down the new *Boulevard de Strasbourg* (the Emperor's creation), and along the Boulevards,



by the Porte St. Denis, the Madeleine, the Place de la Concorde, and the Arc de Triomphe de l'Etoile.' Here the light failed, as the Royal cortège pursued its way through the Bois de Boulogne to St. Cloud. Troops, with their bands playing 'God save the Queen,' lined the whole route from the railway to the Palace, artillery, cavalry, *Cent-Gardes* (who are splendid), and last, but not least, to my great delight, at the Bridge of Boulogne, near the village and Palace of St. Cloud, the Zouaves, splendid troops in splendid dress, the friends of my dear Guards.

"In all this blaze of light from lamps and torches, amidst the roar of cannon, and bands and drums, and cheers, we reached the Palace. The Empress, with Princess Mathilde and the ladies, received us at the door, and took us up a beautiful staircase, lined with the splendid *Cent-Gardes*, who are magnificent men, very like our Life Guards . . . We went through the rooms at once to our own, which are charming . . . I felt quite bewildered, but enchanted ; . . . everything is so beautiful!"

Her Majesty wrote this of the 18th of August. On the 20th, accompanied by Prince Albert, the Prince of Wales, the Princess Royal, and the Emperor, the Queen visited the Exhibition, going to the building for the Fine Arts first. There was great crowding at the entrance inside the building, but parts got clear afterwards. The Emperor asked if any English pictures were for sale. The pictures which appeared to attract most notice were those by Webster, Mulready, and Millais. The Princess Royal considered the "English works of course the best."<sup>1</sup> The Prince talked about the attempt of the Treasury to defeat a proposed grant of £15,000 for Kensington, and of his using all his influence to convince both Lord Palmerston and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, of the soundness of policy in making this grant. "I told His Royal Highness," writes my father, "the outlines of my Museum plan."<sup>1</sup> The Queen's next visit to the Exhibition was paid to the "Palais de l'Industrie," on the 22nd of August. The jurors

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Visits of the  
Queen to the  
Exhibition.

<sup>1</sup> Diary.

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Grand Fête  
at Versailles.

were to have stationed themselves in their respective divisions, but there was a want of supervision somewhere, and a procession was formed instead, which followed the Royal and Imperial party in their progress.<sup>1</sup>

XVII. The grand fête at Versailles, in honour of the Queen's visit, was occupying English and other jurors' minds at this time. The drawing up of lists of persons to be invited, and attention to the claims for invitations put forward on all sides, became the subject of much consideration between Foreign Commissioners and the Emperor's Chamberlains. Three days before the fête a "fifth list had to be made."<sup>1</sup> On the 23rd, "Prince Albert came to the Palais de l'Industrie, and went through a good deal—made purchases."<sup>1</sup> M. Fould was of the party and praising the excellence of English pottery said, "nous arriverons à cela." Mr. Cole remarked that its admission into France was interdicted. To which M. Fould rejoined, with a friendly excuse for the prohibitive French duties on English pottery, that he supposed his compatriots were thought to be conservative of the enmity of forty years earlier.<sup>1</sup> Her Majesty the Queen, the Emperor, and the Prince, came to the Palais de l'Industrie the next day. Her Majesty visited the galleries, whilst the Prince went to the Machinery section; but there was only time enough for His Royal Highness to go hastily down one side of the long annexe.<sup>1</sup> The 25th August was the date of the Great Fête at Versailles. In the morning the distribution of invitation cards to British visitors, took place at the offices of the British Commission. My father's notes upon the fête<sup>2</sup> itself, are brief: "About 1,500 there. Fireworks. Illuminations. Waterworks. Saw the Queen dancing with the Emperor. No fête at Versailles since

<sup>1</sup> Diary.

<sup>2</sup> The cost of this *fête* is said to have been £20,000.



Marie Antoinette. Our carriage could not be found. Met Lord Ward. Home about 5 in the morning."<sup>1</sup> Two days afterwards the Queen's visit came to an end. My father "witnessed procession of departure." "Strange," he notes, "that the first Napoleon should look down on it from the Place Vendôme."<sup>1</sup>

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XVIII. Early in September, the Council of the Society of Arts visited the Exhibition, and decided to present an address of congratulation upon the Exhibition to the Emperor. Mr. Cole "suggested the introduction of a Free Trade paragraph, which was inserted."<sup>1</sup> The presentation of the Society's address was fixed for Sunday, 23rd September, and the deputation, consisting of Mr. Cole, Mr. Edwin Chadwick, Dr. Royle, Mr. Lucy, and Mr. Hollins, went down to St. Cloud, where the Emperor appointed to receive them. After the Emperor had received the address, Mr. Chadwick (whose eminent services at the Poor Law Board are well known) "talked for twenty minutes to the Emperor about drainage,"<sup>1</sup> likening His Majesty's extensive works for the sanitary improvement of Paris, to those carried out by Augustus at Rome.

Society of  
Arts' depu-  
tation to the  
Emperor.

XIX. A short time previously to the closing of the Exhibition, Mr. Cole made a tour in the southern parts of France, for the purpose chiefly of inspecting the objects composing the famous Soulages collection, as well as for visiting various provincial museums of works of art. Upon his return, the mere business of hastening exhibitors to pack up their goods, and to clear out of the Exhibition buildings, seems to have been quite eclipsed by the more exciting operation of determining awards of, and considering claims for, decorations, medals, &c. The British jurors had much to contend against, in order to obtain what they could regard as fair awards for the exhibitors. Their patience was

Arrange-  
ments con-  
nected with  
close of Ex-  
hibition.

<sup>1</sup> Diary.

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Awards in  
respect of  
British Fine  
Art.

frequently and severely tried by the French, who had a preponderating voice in the decisions of the International Jury. Whilst frequently hearing of complaints and seeming injustice, my father had little immediate concern with the work of the juries. On one occasion he notes that "all the French sculptors had voted for themselves; it was doubtful if any medal would be given to Gibson!" the sculptor. British Fine Art was apparently to be ignored altogether; and when it became known that the fourteenth position in either the second or third list had been assigned to Mr. Gibson, and that he was the only English sculptor rewarded, Lord Elcho, who was a British juror, withdrew the name of his nominee, and, in a similar way, other names were also withdrawn from the consideration of the jury, the British jurors determining that, in such cases, no awards would be preferable to unjust ones. This sort of action produced a result less unfavourable than that which had been originally intended, and at length the award of medals was in a measure concluded. Then followed the recommendation of names for Imperial decorations, such as the Legion of Honour. But the tone adopted by the French authorities, and the British regulations under which the award of foreign decorations, as a rule, is not officially recognized at home, seem to have induced my father to try and escape from offering advice. Several times he went to see Lord Cowley upon the subject. On the occasion of the last of such visits, Lord Cowley "thought we could not refuse if the Legion of Honour were personally given to us. There was no command against this, only it would not be recognized in England. He would write to Lord Stanley."<sup>1</sup> My father, in reply, said that "if there was any option, he should certainly refuse."<sup>1</sup> Expecting that notifications of the awards of the Legion of Honour would be formally made, my father went home, and prepared

<sup>1</sup> Diary.



a letter in readiness to decline the honour. The public distribution of honours and medals, and closing ceremony, were to take place the following day (15th November), but for the evening of the 14th, Prince Napoleon, the President of the Imperial Commission, had issued invitations for a reception. My father dined that evening with Monsieur Sallandrouze, and later on went to the Palais Royal, where he met many of his brother commissioners, jurors, and others. The Prince received his guests, and then, when all had arrived, a secretary, bearing a despatch-box, and followed by two footmen, carrying a table, entered the room. The box was duly placed on the table, opened, and from it were taken a number of small cases. Names were called out, and Prince Napoleon, "without any consultation, gave us the Legion of Honour."<sup>1</sup> During the next three or four days, palpable omissions in the award of the Legion of Honour came to light. Eminent men, prominent colonial commissioners, leading engineers, manufacturers, and others, had been overlooked. My father spoke to the French authorities on their behalf, but they considered the better way would be for him to write to Prince Napoleon direct. Luckily he met the Prince in the Exhibition, and so spoke to him, and thus rectifications were made. In the meantime, "Prince Napoleon sent his secretary with crosses of Legion of Honour for absent jurors and others, but I declined to receive them."<sup>1</sup> An aversion to being mixed up in a business which could not receive official approval did not prevent my father from perceiving the humour of dilemmas which seemed to grow out of this foreign decoration business. A banquet was given by the Prefect of the Seine, to which the Foreign Commissioners

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Private dis-  
tribution of  
the Legion  
of Honour.

<sup>1</sup> Diary. My father subsequently arranged with his old friend M. Arlès-Dufour, that these decorations should

be sent out from the French offices instead of from those of the British Commission.

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Part I.

were officially invited, after the Legion of Honour had been given to them ; but my father declined the invitation, because, as British Commissioner, " I could not wear the decoration, and would not go without it."<sup>1</sup> Incidents like these became more or less known at Whitehall, and the subject of foreign decorations being conferred upon British civil servants, came before the consideration of the Government. " Lord Granville objected to Civil Service foreign decorations, and even to an order of merit."<sup>1</sup> In the course of a visit to Prince Albert at Windsor, the Prince told my father that he " thought the distribution of decorations by the French an unfortunate business."<sup>1</sup> One of the last acts of Mr. Cole as British Commissioner was to present Prince Napoleon with an " album of signatures of Foreign Commissioners," as a token of the Commissioners' personal esteem for His Imperial Highness. The Prince said he was much " touched " by the album. This took place on the 18th December, by which time the Exhibition buildings had been almost quite cleared out, the *déménagement* having begun on the 31st October, when my father's diary has the note: " In the evening, went to the Palais de l'Industrie, which was lighted by the electric light; our forces commenced pulling down. Stayed all night."

In Vol. II. are given extracts from Mr. Cole's Report. These extracts relate to (1) " the Policy and Extent of Government interference in future Industrial Exhibitions ;" (2) " the Policy of naming Juries ;" and (3) " Summary of Measures to be taken in respect of any future Universal Exhibitions."

<sup>1</sup> Diary.





## WORK WITH INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS (*continued*).

### THE INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION OF 1862.

#### I.



THE International Exhibition of 1862 was held in buildings, a main portion of which, namely, the Picture Galleries, were erected with a view to the possibility of their becoming permanent structures for purposes of science and art. These buildings occupied the whole of the site devoted to the present Natural History Museum in Cromwell Road, besides land west of the Horticultural Gardens in Queen's Gate. Mr. Cole's connection with the International Exhibition of 1862 was, perhaps, less publicly and nominally prominent than that with the Exhibition of 1851. Nevertheless, he occupied an important position as one of its promoters, and this at a time when his connection with the South Kensington estate was frequently criticized by the Press. His work for the Exhibition, as appears from notes and papers, seems to have been directed mainly on—1. focusing the attention of the Council of the Society of Arts upon the propriety of holding a Great Exhibition in 1861; 2. securing a stable financial basis upon which to carry

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Exhibition  
of 1861 pro-  
jected.

Music to be  
a feature.

The plan  
brought  
before So-  
ciety of Arts.

H.R.H. the  
Prince  
Consort  
favourable  
to the Ex-  
hibition.

out the work ; 3. causing plans for buildings to be made ; 4. securing a site ; 5. influencing one of the foremost of London building contractors to undertake the work ; 6. helping to knit together influential forces for carrying out the organization and administration of the Exhibition ; 7. acting more or less as a despot with plenary powers on various occasions, during the progress of the work. Returning one evening (19th February, 1858) from the Society of Arts in company with Mr. Wentworth Dilke, his colleague in 1851, they discussed the holding of an Exhibition in 1861. Mr. Cole inclined to the idea that such an Exhibition should be limited to Fine Arts, including music, and he fondly pictured to himself the erection of a great Hall for musical performances, especially of a choral character. Mr. Dilke, however, argued in favour of Industrial productions of all sorts, and did not sympathize with the project for music. The question was not settled, though both agreed in the desirability that a great Exhibition of Industry and Fine Arts should be held.

II. The Society of Arts, the channel through which the Great Exhibition of 1851 had been successfully started, was unquestionably a most fitting means by which a second exhibition should be promoted. Accordingly, the idea was brought before the Council of the Society on the 3rd March. Its discussion was fixed for the 10th, and draft resolutions<sup>1</sup> were prepared for the Council. On the 24th March, resolutions in favour of an exhibition were passed by the Council. In the interim, the scheme had been discussed with the Prince Consort, who agreed to receive pro-

<sup>1</sup> 1. Whether the Society should at once announce its intention to direct and superintend an Exhibition in 1861 or any other year. 2. What should be the exact character of such an Ex-

hibition. 3. Whether the surplus funds, if any, should be applied by the Society to the advancement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.



posals thereon from the Society of Arts. The funds for carrying out the great project, were to be raised, in the first instance, by a guarantee, the contributors to which were to have a voice in the disposal of such profits as might have accrued upon the close of the Exhibition.

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NATIONAL  
EXHIBITION  
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1858-1863.  
Part I.

Guarantee  
Fund to be  
raised.

III. Some time before the guarantee was instituted, public correspondence as to the site of the projected Exhibition took place. Battersea Park, Hyde Park, and the South Kensington portion of the estate of Her Majesty's Commissioners, were severally advocated. Circumstances pointed strongly to the advisability of using the land belonging to Her Majesty's Commissioners, and the interest of those authorities was therefore to be obtained as early as possible. On the 16th July, the Prince Consort intimated that he would advise Her Majesty's Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851, to guarantee £50,000. Here for a time matters rested. The scheme had been floated, and was discussed in the various quarters where discussion and consideration would lead to practical results.

Sites dis-  
cussed.

Co-operation  
of H.M.  
Commis-  
sioners pro-  
mised by  
Prince Con-  
sort.

IV. On the 28th August, my father, on the recommendation of Sir James Clark, left England to recruit his health by a six months' tour in Italy. He had been deeply engaged in the organization of the Science and Art Department and the South Kensington Museum, and had completely overworked himself. Between this time and his return to England, no very marked progress was made with the preliminaries for the Exhibition.

My father  
obliged to  
go abroad  
for his  
health.

V. Towards the end of 1858, the Council of the Society of Arts issued circulars announcing the Exhibition to foreign corresponding members of the Society, to foreign exhibitors individually, who had taken part in the Exhibition of 1851, and to the Society's members in this country, thus sowing the seeds of the project over a still larger area.

Issue of an-  
nouncement  
of Exhibi-  
tion.

VI. The 5th March, 1859, saw my father, greatly bene-

Return of  
my father.

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NATIONAL  
EXHIBITION  
OF 1862.

A.D.  
1858-1863.  
Part I.

Form of  
guarantee  
discussed.

Society of  
Arts to pro-  
duce exhi-  
bitors and  
guarantee.

Plans for  
buildings  
discussed  
with Captain  
Fowke.  
Policy of  
H.M. Com-  
missioners  
for 1851.

Early sup-  
porters of  
guarantee.

fited by his Italian tour, back in England ; and the following day he called on Mr. Wentworth Dilke, and had a long conversation with him about the proposed Exhibition, in the course of which a form of guarantee was sketched out.

VII. On the 11th March, the Prince Consort came to South Kensington. His Royal Highness argued that before the Commissioners (of 1851) could assent to become the managers of the enterprise, upon the Society of Arts should devolve the responsibility of producing exhibitors and a guarantee. "I urged him to put his name to the guarantee, saying he was virtually the Commission."<sup>1</sup> The Prince, however, did not at this time acquiesce in such a course.

VIII. The building and estimates for carrying out the work, now engaged attention. The principles to regulate the construction of the buildings, were discussed with Captain Fowke, R.E., who was then engaged at the Science and Art Department. A scheme of policy for the Commissioners of 1851, was being framed at this time by Mr. Bowring (Secretary to the Commissioners), who asked my father, by the Prince Consort's desire, to prepare an estimate of expenditure for the Exhibition of 1861. The late Marquess of Salisbury was at this time Lord President of the Council, and became interested in the Exhibition, and agreed to support the Guarantee Fund to the amount of £5,000. Mr. Wentworth Dilke had taken charge of the form of guarantee, which seems to have been frequently discussed without any immediate result. Little progress beyond such as might be made by promises of support privately given, was effected with the guarantee. Mr. Kelk (now Sir John Kelk, Bart.), the contractor for buildings for the South Kensington Museum, supported the endeavours to promote the scheme by agreeing to

<sup>1</sup> Diary.



tender for the erection of buildings for the Exhibition, and generously undertook to allow £50,000 to be left unpaid for a time, in respect of what might be permanent erections.

IX. In the April of 1859, the Franco-Austrian war was imminent—"ready to break out like small pox," as Mr. Milner Gibson observed.<sup>1</sup> My father held to the opinion that war need not be a sufficient cause for postponing the Exhibition. Mr. Wentworth Dilke and others thought differently. On the 27th April, Mr. Cole was at Windsor submitting to the Prince Consort the plans which he, Captain Fowke, and Mr. R. Redgrave had prepared, for laying out the northern part of Her Majesty's Commissioners' estate as ornamental gardens surrounded by arcades, with the view of these gardens being used by the Royal Horticultural Society, when "a telegram arrived from Lord Malmesbury announcing the entrance of the Austrians into Piedmont."<sup>1</sup> After this, the International Exhibition was put aside as impracticable for the time, but so far as the use of the Commissioners' land at South Kensington was concerned, thought was turned to the Royal Horticultural Society and the plans just mentioned. On the 3rd June, public announcement of the postponement of the Exhibition, was made by the Society of Arts. But this did not drive the guarantee fund out of mind, and many private promises of support were secured about this time.

X. Towards the autumn (6th September), Mr. Cole was engaged in drawing up a new form of guarantee for the Exhibition of 1861. Later on (2nd October), "Dilke called, and said he was discouraged by members of the Government from proceeding with the Exhibition;"<sup>1</sup> why, however, was not clear. The events of the Franco-Austrian war had rapidly succeeded one another. The peace concluded at

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Mr. Kelk's  
offer as to  
erecting  
buildings.  
Franco-  
Austrian  
war breaks  
out.

Plans for  
using part  
of Commis-  
sioners'  
estate for  
ornamental  
gardens  
submitted  
to Prince.

Postpone-  
ment of Ex-  
hibition on  
account of  
war.

Progress  
with gua-  
rantee.

Holding of  
Exhibition  
discouraged.

<sup>1</sup> Diary.

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NATIONAL  
EXHIBITION  
OF 1862.

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1858-1863.  
Part I.

Resumption  
of work by  
Society of  
Arts, and  
Exhibition  
announced  
for 1862.

Marquess of  
Chandos  
invited to  
become a  
trustee of  
Guarantee  
Fund.

Other trust-  
ees.

Lord Gran-  
ville as a  
trustee.

Villa Franca, was now nearly three months old, so that there seemed to be nothing on the score of war, which should further delay the Exhibition. The disposition to shirk the work became less marked in different quarters. Resolutions setting forth the advantage of at once proceeding with the Exhibition, were framed, taken to Windsor on the 1st November, and submitted to the Prince Consort, who said that he considered my father's view of the situation was "unimpeachable."<sup>1</sup> The Society of Arts accordingly resumed its operations in favour of the Exhibition,<sup>2</sup> which was now announced to take place in 1862.<sup>3</sup>

XI. On the 11th November, 1859, a deputation from the Society of Arts waited on Lord Chandos, to ask him, as Chairman of the London and North Western Railway, to support the Exhibition, and to become a trustee of the Guarantee Fund, of which Mr. Thomas Baring, M.P., Mr. Wentworth Dilke, and Mr. Thomas Fairbairn, Chairman of the Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition, also became trustees.

XII. But before public announcement was made of the Guarantee Fund and its trustees, it was felt to be desirable to seek Lord Granville's co-operation as a trustee. A preliminary list of names of guarantors had been prepared, and was submitted to Lord Granville in evidence of what the public might be expected to do. The form of Guarantee (which had been the subject of so much talk) was agreed upon, at a meeting of the "Exhibition Committee" of the Society of Arts, on the 17th January, 1860. This step was at once made use of to obtain further private promises for the Guarantee Fund<sup>4</sup> which soon reached £140,000. By the 28th February, the trustees and nominal managers of

<sup>1</sup> Diary.

<sup>2</sup> "Society of Arts agreed to my resolutions for a second Exhibition of Art and Industry" (Diary, 2nd Nov.).

<sup>3</sup> Sir T. Phillips' address, Nov. 18th, 1859, Society of Arts.

<sup>4</sup> *Memorandum*.—The Council of the Society of Arts have prepared the



the Exhibition of 1862, had come into official being; and on this day, the Society of Arts sent a deputation to wait upon the Prince Consort, and lay before him a draft of the Trust Deed upon which the Council of the Society proposed to raise a guarantee fund of not less than £250,000. After the deputation had withdrawn, the Prince expressed his anxiety that the plans should be pressed forward. But matters which equally called for settlement, were the formation of the Guarantee Fund, negotiating the terms upon which the land for the Exhibition might be obtained from the Commissioners of 1851, and how the management of the Exhibition was to be provided for.

XIII. On the 7th March, "To Council of the Society of Arts to move the appointment of a Committee to negotiate a lease with Her Majesty's Commissioners,"<sup>1</sup> and the following day the letter quoted,<sup>2</sup> was addressed to the Secre-

form of a Guarantee deed, for the purpose of raising funds to enable the International Exhibition of 1862 to be held. Before issuing it, they are desirous of obtaining a few names of leading representatives of great commercial interests, to be added to the names of some members of the Society of Arts who have begun the Subscription List.

The principal conditions of the Guarantee deed are—1st. That no subscriber will have any liability until at least £250,000 have been subscribed. 2nd. That no calls will be made unless it should happen that, contrary to the experience of the Exhibition of 1851, when there was a surplus of £200,000, there should be a loss, when the call will be *pro rata*. 3rd. Any surplus will be at the disposal of the guarantors, for the promotion of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce. 4th. The Trustees and

Managers of the Exhibition named, are the Earl Granville, K.G., Lord President of the Privy Council; the Marquis of Chandos, Chairman of the London and North Western Railway; Thomas Baring, Esq., M.P., and C. Wentworth Dilke, Esq., Commissioners of the Exhibition of 1851, and Thomas Fairbairn, Esq., Chairman of the Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition.

Already a few members of the Society of Arts, and other private and public interests, have privately subscribed about £140,000.

The subscriptions from individuals vary from £10,000 down to £100.

<sup>1</sup> Diary.

<sup>2</sup> Society of Arts, &c.,  
8th March, 1860.

SIR,—I am directed by the Council of the Society of Arts to transmit, for the information of Her Majesty's Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851,

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NATIONAL  
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1858-1863.

Part I.

Deputation  
from Society  
of Arts to  
Prince Con-  
sort.

Commence-  
ment of  
negotiations  
between  
Society of  
Arts and  
H.M. Com-  
missioners as to  
lease of land  
for Exhi-  
bition.

INTER-  
NATIONAL  
EXHIBITION  
OF 1862.

A.D.  
1858-1863.  
Part I.

H.R.H.  
Prince Con-  
sort and con-  
ditions of  
lease of land  
by H.M.  
Commissioners to  
Society of  
Arts.

The Prince's  
guarantee of  
£10,000.

Progress  
with Gua-  
rantee Fund.

tary of Her Majesty's Commissioners. At a meeting with His Royal Highness and Mr. Bowring at Buckingham Palace on the 26th March, the Prince said that he thought the Society of Arts might have ground for the Exhibition on the Commissioners' estate, without rent. If permanent buildings were maintained, then a rent should be charged. His Royal Highness did not however approve of a large Hall as a permanent building. Throughout the month of March my father seems to have obtained many private promises of support, varying from £300 to £1,000 each, towards the Guarantee Fund. On the 31st March, the Prince asked whether his guarantee should be £5,000 or £10,000, and finally agreed to the suggestion that he would guarantee £10,000 when £240,000 had been obtained. The Prince's decision in this respect was formally communicated to the Society of Arts through General Grey.<sup>1</sup>

XIV. The Society's movements as made were all published in their weekly Journal, and soon after the announcement of the Prince's support of the Guarantee Fund, over

a copy of the Guarantee Agreement, by which the Society seeks to secure the means of holding an International Exhibition of Art and Industry in 1862, and to express a hope that the Council may receive the co-operation of Her Majesty's Commissioners, collectively and individually, in the undertaking.

I am also directed by the Council to inquire, whether, considering the interest of the Society of Arts in the permanent buildings to be erected, the Commissioners will now grant a portion of the ground at South Kensington, purchased out of the surplus funds of the Exhibition of 1851, for the purpose of holding Exhibitions of Art and Industry, and for other purposes tending to the encouragement of

Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce; and, if so, on what terms.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

P. LE NEVE FOSTER,

*Secretary.*

Edgar A. Bowring, Esq.,  
Secretary to the Royal  
Commissioners for the

Exhibition of 1851, &c., &c.

<sup>1</sup> General Grey wrote to Mr. Cole on the 6th April:—"I have written by the Prince's desire to Mr. Foster, and have intimated, as you suggest, H. R. H.'s readiness, when the public interest shall have manifested itself to the extent of subscribing £240,000 to a Guarantee Fund, to make up whatever may be required to complete the full amount."



£260,000 were promised. At one time, the support of the guarantee in the provinces was slightly jeopardized by the suspicions of the Bradford Chamber of Commerce, which, however, were soon allayed. The incident seems to have interest at the present day, when the formation of provincial museums and institutions for benefiting instruction in science and art, is occupying attention. Towns and public bodies in the provinces which subscribed to the Exhibition in 1851, entertain the idea that they have a right to claim a share in the pecuniary results realized directly and indirectly from that Exhibition. It may therefore be of use to give here the account in full of the Bradford incident.

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NATIONAL  
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A.D.  
1858-1863.  
Part I.

Bradford  
and Gua-  
rantee Fund.

The following is a Report of a Meeting of the Chamber of Commerce at Bradford :—

A communication from the Council of the Society of Arts, addressed to Mr. John Darlington, as a Member of the Society, asking him to join the Guarantee Fund of £250,000, for the proposed Exhibition of 1862, was read to the meeting. Mr. Behrens observed that the Guarantee Fund subscribed in respect to the Exhibition of 1851, amounted to £70,000. That sum was drawn from the subscribers, and no account had been given of it, although the Exhibition was said to have realised a surplus of £200,000. He moved that the Secretary be instructed to acknowledge the letter from the Council of the Society of Arts, and ask for information as to what had been done with the previous Guarantee Fund. Mr. Douglas asked whether there might not have been some misconception as to whether it was a Guarantee Fund. Mr. Behrens said that the promoters did not say it was a Guarantee Fund, but everybody else understood it to be a Guarantee Fund. The subscribers had no legal right; they subscribed *bonâ fide*; but he thought the *gentlemen in common honesty* ought to have given account of *their stewardship*. The amount of guarantee was £70,000, which was subscribed and paid. The Chairman expressed a doubt whether the Exhibition would pay. Mr. Behrens said he hoped it would never take place. The motion was seconded by Mr. Douglas and agreed to.

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Part I.

Mr. Titus Salt having asked Mr. Cole, a Vice-President of the Society of Arts, to give him an answer to the above statements, Mr. Cole addressed to him the following letter :—

“DEAR MR. SALT,—I am very glad that you ask me for an explanation of some statements made before your Bradford Chamber of Commerce, on the Financial Management of the Exhibition of 1851. In the report of the meeting which you gave me, I find it stated that in '51 a Guarantee Fund was subscribed for £70,000, and that no account had been given of it, although the Exhibition realised a surplus of £200,000. Here are two mistakes. First, the Guarantee Fund which was formed was not for £70,000, but exceeded £350,000; and, secondly, a full account of all the receipts and expenditure of the Exhibition *was printed*, published, and laid before Parliament in 1852. The First Report of the Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851, contains not only the financial account, but the most minute statistical information of all kinds, illustrating the cost of everything, and even the number of buns eaten, which amounted to 1,800,000. (See page 150.)

“I think I should best make the matter quite clear by telling you, in detail, the financial arrangements of 1851. The public were invited to *subscribe*, and were told, at the same time, that all subscriptions were *absolute* and *final*, and that any surplus would be applied in promoting future Exhibitions. I send you some extracts from the printed decisions, which were circulated by hundreds of thousands throughout the kingdom. The public subscribed £67,896 before the Exhibition opened, and paid this sum. When the period arrived to make a contract for the building, this amount was found to be quite insufficient. The question then arose, who was to take the responsibility of ordering the building? The Prince Consort and others personally entered into a guarantee which amounted to about £350,000. Of this amount, the Prince subscribed £10,000, Sir Morton Peto £50,000, and others subscribed large sums, from £10,000 downwards. Upon this guarantee, the Bank of England made the necessary advances to enable the Exhibition to be realised. The subscriptions alone were not sufficient for the purpose, and if the guarantee had not been formed in addition, the Exhibition could not have taken place. After wind-



ing up all the accounts, there was a surplus of £173,000. Upwards of eighty memorials or letters were presented to the Commissioners, suggesting various modes of spending the money. Some one suggested the formation of a Museum of Aboriginal Products; another, a Free Hospital for all Nations; another, the alleviation of Irish and Highland destitution; an Irishman suggested the purchase of an estate in Ireland for Prince Albert. In fact, everybody seemed to forget that the Commissioners had *pledged* themselves to apply the surplus to promote future exhibitions. The Commissioners took the most practical step to enable this to be done, and the best proof of it is that another Exhibition will take place in 1862. The Commissioners, instead of spending their money, or scattering it among all the wild projects suggested, invested it in the purchase of land, which they bought at a very moderate outlay. Since the purchase was made, the value of the land has increased nearly fourfold in less than nine years. The prudence of this step in every point of view was great. The chief difficulty in the last Exhibition was the provision of a site, and the Exhibition was nearly stopped by the repugnance of the House of Commons to the use of Hyde-park, for the purpose of holding the Exhibition. Even after the Exhibition had brilliantly succeeded, the Crystal Palace could not be kept standing because it was in Hyde-park. By the foresight of the Commissioners in securing land near the metropolis, they are now enabled to offer 16 acres of land not only for holding the next Exhibition, but are willing that it should be secured for this purpose in perpetuity.

"I send you a little woodcut, which shows where the 16 acres of land are. They are within a third of a mile of the site of the Exhibition of 1851, and a Bill is now before Parliament to enable a railway to deposit people and goods actually in the Exhibition, and by means of it the members of your Chamber of Commerce will be able to come up from Bradford, and return the same day if they think fit.

"It was proved to demonstration, in 1850, that the Great Exhibition must be a commercial failure. It was also proved, in a most mathematical way, that the building would be blown down. Instead of a failure, there was a great profit, and the building was not blown away. With such facts, it is not necessary to discuss the apprehensions of any that the Exhibition of 1862 will be a failure.

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1858-1863.  
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"That Exhibition will assuredly be much more interesting in its display of machinery and manufactures than the former one, as the world has not stood still during the last ten years, and experience makes exhibitors, as well as other people, more perfect. Moreover, the next Exhibition will contain Fine Arts and Music, which the last Exhibition did not illustrate; and I have great hope of seeing your vigorous townsman, Mr. Smith, bringing up a troupe of Yorkshire voices to show how well they can sing in 1862.

"As for subscribing to the guarantee, it is no longer necessary for its pecuniary success, as the quarter of a million is very nearly completed. As a testimony of goodwill towards the promotion of manufactures and peace between nations, I should hope your Bradford friends will not think it becoming to abstain from subscribing to it. In the present case they may like to know that the disposal of the surplus will rest with those who subscribe to the guarantee, and it will be very satisfactory to find—if there should be a surplus—that they have made better use of it, if that be possible, than the Commissioners of 1851 did of theirs.

"Yours faithfully,

"HENRY COLE.

"Titus Salt, Esq., M.P."

#### EXTRACTS FROM THE DECISIONS IN 1851.

"Her Majesty's Commissioners having undertaken the absolute control over the expenditure of all money that may come into the hands of their treasurers, have made arrangements for auditing accounts and ensuring the strictest economy.

"Should any surplus remain, after giving every facility to the exhibitors, and increasing the privileges of the public as spectators, Her Majesty's Commissioners intend to apply the same to purposes strictly in connection with the ends of the Exhibition, or for the establishment of similar Exhibitions for the future.

"All subscriptions must be absolute and definite."

17, Onslow Square, 5th May, 1860.

Council of  
Society of  
Arts applies  
to H.M.  
Commis-  
sioners for  
grant of site.

XV. The Council of the Society decided on the 25th May, to make a formal application to Her Majesty's Commissioners, for the grant of a site upon which the Exhibition buildings might be erected. In this matter my father



appears to have acted as *amicus curiæ* to both parties, namely, Her Majesty's Commissioners and the Society of Arts. One of his principal thoughts was not only to secure the land for the Exhibition of 1862, but to obtain some agreement with the Commissioners under which subsequent exhibitions might be held. The subjoined papers<sup>1</sup> were

INTERNATIONAL  
EXHIBITION  
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A.D.  
1852-1863.

Part I.

Provision of  
buildings for  
future exhi-  
bitions.

<sup>1</sup> *Memorandum on the Lease of Ground at South Kensington, proposed to be granted to the Society of Arts by the Commissioners for the Exhibition, 1851.*

1. All parties are agreed that an Exhibition may be held in 1862, without payment of ground rent.

2. It must be settled at once, upon what conditions any buildings of a permanent character, which shall have been paid for at the risk of the guarantors, shall remain on the ground after 1862.

3. Such buildings will have been placed on the ground for the precise object of holding an International Exhibition in 1862, as well as future similar Exhibitions.

4. The Commissioners hold this ground for the purpose of establishing Exhibitions. The Commissioners, on the 14th February, 1850, resolved "that any surplus funds which may remain after the proposed object of the Exhibition shall have been accomplished, will be funded by the Commissioners for the establishment of future Exhibitions of a similar nature" (see Minutes of Sixth Meeting), and they accepted £67,896 from the Public on these conditions. The Public, as represented by the original subscribers in 1850; by the Society of Arts, which surrendered in 1850 its legal claim to half the surplus profit of the Exhibition of 1851; by the guarantors of the quarter of a million at the present time subscribed for,

and by the Society of Arts, which, by these guarantors, is made Trustees of any permanent buildings, this Public it may be foreseen will surely demand that the Commissioners shall perform their engagements, notwithstanding any modification of power introduced into their second Charter.

5. It will perhaps be sufficiently satisfactory to the public, if the Commissioners give the requisite pledge that the ground shall be available for an exhibition in 1872, should the Public then desire to hold one. The Society has no wish to occupy the uncovered ground during the interval, but would have been prepared to do so, and even provide for the payment of a rental, in order to prevent any misappropriation of the ground to other objects. It would be a better arrangement for all parties, if the Commissioners held this ground themselves. It would not be difficult to arrange for what uses and upon what terms the Society of Arts might occupy the permanent buildings, when not used for International Exhibitions. These buildings will probably be a large hall, greatly wanted for many important public objects, together with some well-lighted brick galleries. There is no reason whatever to suppose that the Council of the Society of Arts, with the Prince Consort as its President, and the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Earl Granville, the Lord Ashburton, Lord Stanley, and Mr. Dilke, among its Vice-Presidents, would be

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NATIONAL  
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Part I.

Grant of site  
by H. M.  
Commissioners.

prepared by him at the time. Her Majesty's Commissioners eventually granted the land rent-free for the purposes of the Exhibition of 1862.

more likely to misuse the buildings than the Commissioners themselves, who consist of nearly the same parties, and who are less responsible to the Public than the Council of the Society of Arts, which is elected annually by 2,000 voluntary constituents belonging to all classes; and the motives for misuse would certainly be reduced, if the Commissioners did not require the Society of Arts to pay any rental for the grounds occupied by buildings of so obvious a public character.

6. The Finance Committee would therefore, perhaps, prefer to substitute the following proposal for the third printed proposition before them. "If on or before the 31st December, 1862, the Society of Arts shall give notice that they desire to keep on the ground, buildings which have cost £50,000 or more, the Commissioners shall undertake to reserve for the purpose of a future Exhibition, the uncovered ground, until the year 1873, in order that an International Exhibition may take place, should the Public desire it, at that time; and further, that the Commissioners shall agree with the Society of Arts to allow the Society to hold possession of such buildings rent free, for such uses, as shall be determined by an arbitration of three persons, each party naming one, and the two nominees appointing an umpire."

H. C.

17 May, 1860.

*Terms proposed for leasing the Ground at South Kensington to the Society of Arts, to enable International Exhibitions of Art and Industry to*

*be held, and Permanent Buildings for promoting Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, to be erected. —*

1. The ground to consist of 16 acres at the Southern end of the quadrangle bounded on the South by Cromwell-road.

2. A sum of £24,000 (being at the rate of 3 per cent. annually for ten years on the original cost of the ground, say £5,000 an acre) to be chargeable on every Decennial International Exhibition held on the ground, as part of the ground rental.

3. The ground to be held by the Society of Arts for the next exhibition, and for a term of [31] years dating from [the closing of the next exhibition], if it shall then be determined that any buildings will be permanently held by the Society. At the termination of the next, and at each subsequent, exhibition, after paying the expenses of such exhibition, a sum of [£24,000] is to be paid to the Commissioners by the Managers of the Exhibition, and if not so paid, it is to be considered as a charge upon the proceeds of the ground and buildings held by the Society.

4. The Society, out of any receipts for using the ground and buildings during the ten years' intervals when exhibitions are not held, is to pay—

1st. The expenses of maintaining the ground and permanent buildings in proper order.

2nd. If necessary, the sum of £24,000 chargeable on each exhibition, or such portions as may be unpaid after the close of each exhibition.



XVI. In whose hands the management of the Exhibition was to be vested, was a question which soon engaged the attention of all who were concerned in promoting the Exhibition. His Royal Highness the Prince Consort had, almost throughout, been averse to the Commissioners for 1851 undertaking the management; and there was possibly a general consent that such work might be more effectively carried out if entrusted to a less numerous body. The Trustees of the Guarantee Fund, personally and *ex officio*, appeared best qualified to become the directing authorities of the Exhibition of 1862. Having accepted this view, the Council of the Society of Arts commenced a correspondence with the Trustees on the 15th June. The letters which passed between the Trustees and the Council of the Society, were printed for private circulation. The negotiations concluded on the 22nd November, when Lord Granville, the Marquess of Chandos, Mr. Thomas Baring, Mr. C. Wentworth Dilke, and Mr. Thomas Fairbairn, intimated their willingness to accept the trust offered to them, on the understanding that the Council of the Society of Arts took measures for giving legal effect to the guarantee, and for obtaining a charter of incorporation satisfactory to them. On the 25th November, Mr. Cole had drawn up a draft charter to incorporate the Trustees as Commissioners for

INTERNATIONAL  
EXHIBITION  
OF 1862.  
A.D.  
1858-1863.  
Part I.

Trustees of  
guarantee  
invited by  
Society  
of Arts to  
become,  
Managers.

Draft Charter  
prepared.

3rd. To pay as a further rental during the intervals between each exhibition, half of any profits that may arise from the use of the ground and buildings. The accounts are to be rendered annually.

5. The expenses of maintenance and uses of the ground and buildings, are to be determined by a Committee, consisting of three persons named by the Commissioners, and three per-

sons named by the Council of the Society.

6. If after holding two exhibitions, and having the use of the buildings and ground for ten years, the Society should be unable to pay the sum of £24,000 in respect of the ten years preceding the last exhibition, then the Commissioners are to have the power of re-entering and selling the buildings, paying the arrears of rent, and handing the surplus, if any, to the Society of Arts.

INTER-  
NATIONAL  
EXHIBITION  
OF 1862.

A.D.  
1858-1863.  
Part I.

Lord Gran-  
ville wishes  
to secure my  
father's ser-  
vices.

the Exhibition of 1862. The charter was granted on the 14th February, 1861.

XVII. In the meanwhile, Lord Granville, as nominal President of the new Commission, began to consider the appointment of an executive. "How," asked he of my father, "can we engage you?" "Who is to be secretary, and who manager?"<sup>1</sup> My father gives no note of his answers. Six months afterwards the conversation was renewed. Lord Granville expressed his desire that my father should take office under the Commissioners for the Exhibition, and act in a capacity similar to that in which he had worked in 1851. He urged his desire in the most generous and frank manner. My father, however, felt that he ought not to give up his work even temporarily, at the South Kensington Museum and the Department of Science and Art. He was, he told Lord Granville, at his disposal, "to assist, 1, the Exhibition, 2, Lord Granville personally, 3, the Society of Arts, and 4, to protect his own guarantee."<sup>1</sup> On the following day (6th April, 1861), the Commissioners for the Exhibition met at the offices in the Strand. "They proposed I should be joint manager with Colonel Shadwell at £1,500 a-year, and give up the department." "I declined to give up the department and to have responsibility, with or without a colleague, not for £5,000 a-year."<sup>2</sup> The terms eventually agreed upon were that he should be a general adviser, and receive a fee of £1,500, foregoing three months of his official salary at the Department of Science and Art.

The Com-  
missioner's  
invitation to  
my father to  
be joint  
manager  
declined.

Cost of  
buildings  
discussed.

XVIII. Returning now to the relation of other incidents as they unfolded themselves from November, 1860: on the 30th November, there was a meeting of Lords Granville and Chandos, Messrs. Dilke and Fairbairn, and Mr. Cole, to discuss Captain Fowke's plans for the building. The plans

<sup>1</sup> Diary, April 5th, 1861.

<sup>2</sup> Diary.



had been maturing since the early months of 1859. The expense of the building was at first proposed to be fixed at £150,000, but it seems that eventually £200,000 was agreed upon as the limit. "Lord Chandos doubted if the great music hall should be built. All agreed that the Exhibition should be as large as 1851, for manufactures and machinery." Two days afterwards, Mr. Kelk offered to erect the buildings for £200,000, leaving £50,000 in respect of the more permanent portions, to be paid later on. On the 4th December, the Prince Consort came to the South Kensington Museum and inspected Captain Fowke's plans; and the same day, the Commissioners authorized the preparation of working drawings for the nave and lateral roofs.

INTERNATIONAL  
EXHIBITION  
OF 1862.

A. D.  
1858-1863.  
Part I.

Mr. Kelk's  
offer to erect  
buildings.

Working  
drawings  
authorized.

XIX. Mr. Cole drew up the conditions of the contract for the building, pressed on the preparation of the working drawings, and was in constant communication with the Commissioners, amongst whom there were at times so many opinions, that the erection of the building was well nigh despaired of. Besides this, a jealousy was stirring in the architectural profession, on account of the part Captain Fowke was taking as architect of the buildings. Lord Granville, who felt the difficulties of the situation as keenly as anyone, asked Mr. Cole's advice, which was that either the Commissioners should take "our plans and give us power to carry them out, or else get others: but do not divide the responsibility."

Conditions  
of contract  
for erecting  
buildings.

Architects'  
jealousy of  
Captain  
Fowke.

XX. A few extracts from the diary may serve to indicate the conditions under which the plans were made, and the works eventually undertaken:—

17 Jan., 1861. "To Council Office, gave 3 drawings to S. for the Commissioners' approval. D. with his old story that the great hall was too high! F. wished to show the working drawings at once to contractors." 18th Jan. "Bow-

Plans and  
tenders for  
buildings.

INTER-  
NATIONAL  
EXHIBITION  
OF 1862.

A.D.  
1858-1863.  
Part I.

Modifica-  
tions neces-  
sary to  
reduce cost.

Costs  
limited.

Erection  
of great hall  
given up.

ring came to South Kensington. Fowke met Lord Chandos and Fairbairn about the plans. They said they considered them settled." 30th Jan. "Lord Chandos and Fairbairn proposed to supersede all Fowke's working drawings, and invite contractors to make their own, but I advised Fowke to refuse the use of his plan on those terms, which he did. Lord Chandos then went into details concerning concrete!" At length, on the 9th February, the plans being settled, tenders for building were sent in; the highest was for £700,000, the lowest for £610,000. This last was sent in by Messrs. Kelk and Lucas. The £610,000 was far beyond the amount the Commissioners had contemplated, and Captain Fowke had forthwith to modify his plans. A limit of £400,000 was agreed upon by the Commissioners. The matter was discussed with Mr. Kelk, who acquiesced in a proposal that half the cost of the building should be paid for, and that the payment of the other half should be contingent upon the success of the Exhibition. On the 12th February, Messrs. Kelk and Lucas drafted a tender for £390,000—£225,000 were to be paid as the works went on, and the balance after the receipts of the Commissioners had reached £375,000. Under this arrangement the picture galleries, the great hall, and the nave would have been built in a permanent manner, and the rest of the buildings would have consisted of shedding. The draft tender was however, put aside, and a contract was agreed to and made for £300,000 only: £200,000 to be paid at first, and £100,000 after Commissioners' receipts amounted to £400,000. The idea of a great hall was threatened with modifications, and in a few days "Fowke proposed that the great hall should be given up to secure all the rest, and I agreed."<sup>1</sup> At the board meeting on the same day at South Kensing-

<sup>1</sup> Diary.



ton, "Lord Granville<sup>1</sup> said to Mr. Lowe,<sup>2</sup> 'we must give up the hall, a little hall wouldn't do;' and Mr. Lowe added, 'A little lion does not answer for a great one.'" On the 27th February, "Lord Chandos and Mr. Fairbairn came and examined the ground; expressed a hope that Fowke had left space for the great hall, as it might be erected after all!" On the 19th March, "Mr. Lowe wished me to devise some plan by which the great hall could be erected." 21st March. "Called on Mr. Lowe with scheme for erecting the great hall; he said he was struck with my resources." However, Lord Granville thought the proposal to form a company for erecting the hall, was not practicable. Thus for a time the "great hall" scheme fell to the ground.<sup>3</sup>

INTERNATIONAL  
EXHIBITION  
OF 1862.

A.D.  
1858-1863.  
Part I.

Mr. Lowe  
and his sup-  
port of my  
father's  
scheme for a  
great hall.

XXI. The Commissioners used to meet at offices in the Strand. Their deliberations on certain occasions were "all hurry and no system," "all talk and no progress."<sup>4</sup> On another, there is "despair of the Commissioners working well."<sup>4</sup> Although my father had declined to undertake the executive work of the Exhibition, it was suggested to him that he should nevertheless take it up. "The executive," he was told, "as in 1851, would push out the Commissioners."<sup>4</sup> The appointments made by the Commissioners in some instances he considered "bad," in others "doubtful." Certain agreements they entered into, were, he thought, "against their interests." There were "delay in decisions," and "mistakes" in providing for the convenience of exhibitors.

Notes upon  
Commis-  
sioners'  
meetings.

XXII. Again was he urged to become an executive officer, but again he declined. "I did not wish to be named on the staff, but if it were wished, should propose being called 'consulting officer.'"<sup>4</sup> As such, his opinion was sought

My father as  
"consult-  
ing officer."

<sup>1</sup> Lord-President of the Council.

<sup>2</sup> Vice-President.

<sup>3</sup> An account of the building for the Exhibition of 1862, was written by my

father, and published by Chapman and Hall towards August, 1861.

<sup>4</sup> Diary.

INTER-  
NATIONAL  
EXHIBITION  
OF 1862.

A.D.  
1858-1863.  
Part I.

Friction  
between  
Building  
Committee  
and con-  
tractors.

A Commis-  
sioner re-  
buked.

Mosaics for  
exterior of  
Exhibition.

Death of  
H. R. H. the  
Prince Con-  
sort.

and given upon every conceivable matter respecting the construction and decoration of the building, the allotment of space, the arrangement of objects, the plan for framing the catalogue, the contract with refreshment purveyors, and the appointment and functions of juries. He was called upon to reconcile all sorts of differences, as, for instance, when the progress of the buildings was jeopardized by a quarrel between a "Building Committee" appointed by the Commissioners, and the contractors. At times he felt obliged to tell the Commissioners "that the work was not going on well, and was in peril," then to go so far as to rebuke a Commissioner for frequently dividing the Committee upon the decision of the chairman. For which latter he was asked not to wound the Commissioner's vanity! "You are scarcely in a position," he was told, "to say to him as Bethell did to a solicitor, 'I have given you my opinion, go home to your chambers, and apply what you call your mind to it.'"<sup>1</sup>

XXIII. Some time before the buildings of the Exhibition were completed, the decoration of their principal façade in Cromwell Road, was discussed. My father proposed to place a series of wall pictures in mosaics along this façade, and for these, the following Royal Academicians—Mulready, Hook, Cope, Horsley, Maclise, together with Holman Hunt and others, agreed to make designs. The Marquess of Salisbury consented to be the chairman of the committee for carrying out the work, and Messrs. Mintons and Messrs. Simpson made experimental mosaics with success. Subscriptions were obtained, and during the year of the Exhibition full-sized cartoons, representing "Sheep-shearing" (by Cope), and "Fishing" (by Hook), were produced.

XXIV. In December, 1861, the death of the Prince Consort

<sup>1</sup> Diary.



seemed to threaten the accomplishment of the Exhibition. From this time until the close of the Exhibition, Mr. Cole was continuously consulted, and advised upon many matters of detail. Difficulties had to be smoothed down in almost every direction. He frequently alludes to the apparent want of a central control over the general administration. Petty questions, as, for instance, the payment of four pounds to a draughtsman, were formally considered by one committee and solemnly referred by it to another. "I will not believe," writes my father, "that the Commissioners can have passed a minute to refer the case of a man receiving weekly payments to the Finance Committee, consisting of the Controller of the National Debt, a Privy Councillor, and others!" Opinions were numerous and divided upon the decoration of the building. The reception of goods at the building was insufficiently organized. The scheme for appointing jurors, and specifying their duties, was prepared "without consulting me."<sup>1</sup> At a meeting of the Commissioners, "pointed out absurdities in proposed modes of working the juries," upon which the Duke of Buckingham "thought I had concurred in them."<sup>1</sup> On the 10th January, "determined to go out of town and leave such a Commission to itself."<sup>1</sup> However, Mr. Cole did not go.

XXV. A public road across Hyde Park was wanted. At that time it was considered essential that the traffic should be concealed. Captain Fowke prepared a plan to this end. For some weeks Mr. Cole, Captain Fowke, Mr. Fowler, Mr. Hawkshaw, and Mr. Kelk were engaged in pressing their opinions upon Mr. W. Cowper, then First Commissioner of Works; but Captain Fowke's design was not carried out. The use of the existing road by carriages, cabs, &c., was eventually sanctioned.

XXVI. Responsibility in taking precautions to insure

INTERNATIONAL  
EXHIBITION  
OF 1862.

A. D.  
1858-1863.

Part I.  
Adminis-  
tration of  
the Exhi-  
bition.

Public road  
across Hyde  
Park.

Difficulties  
in adminis-  
tration.

<sup>1</sup> Diary.

INTER-  
NATIONAL  
EXHIBITION  
OF 1862.

A.D.  
1858-1863.  
Part I.

Arrange-  
ments for  
State cere-  
mony of  
opening Ex-  
hibition.

Manage-  
ment of cere-  
monial dele-  
gated to  
Mr. Cole.

the safety of the valuable pictures sent to the Exhibition, was repudiated. "R. Redgrave came to me in grief about the pictures, for which, if damaged, the Commissioners would not be responsible."<sup>1</sup> By the end of February, the frictions between the various bodies engaged in the Exhibition had become so frequent, that "unless there was a radical change the Exhibition would not be opened." A change was effected, and Mr. (now Sir Francis) Sandford was appointed sole manager, to consult Mr. Cole as occasion might require.

XXVII. As the date for the opening approached, the state ceremony to be then observed was duly considered. Distinguished musicians (Sterndale Bennett, Verdi, Auber, Meyerbeer) had been invited by the Commissioners to compose special music for the occasion, which was to be performed under one of the great domes. Mr. Costa<sup>2</sup> accepted the office of conductor. The question of reserving seats for spectators was fully discussed, and the principle assented to. 14th March: "With Commissioners about opening ceremony. Assented to dividing the ceremony in three places. Fairbairn and Duke of Buckingham against reserved seats. The Duke objected because two friends could not sit together if they took tickets at different times."<sup>1</sup> At length the responsibility of managing the ceremonial was delegated to Mr. Cole. "The absurdity of asking foreign musicians to compose" was mooted at the last moment, as well as the "impossibility of carrying out the ceremony unless the reserved seats were absolutely boarded off and people kept in their places."<sup>1</sup> Finally, on the 27th March, Lord Granville approved of a programme framed by Mr. Cole. On the 28th, "with Commissioners about ceremonial paper. They wanted to alter every line, and cut it to pieces. I fired up,

<sup>1</sup> Diary.

<sup>2</sup> Now Sir Michael Costa.



and said they would emasculate it." From this period the arrangements were more easily proceeded with. 16th April: "To Admiralty, to get sailors and marines for procession. Horse Guards for troops." April 17th: "Costa about bands. Sterndale Bennett had only sent the beginning and end of his ode. Verdi's work had not arrived. Nine months engaged in doing nothing!"<sup>1</sup> On the 25th April, the series of exhibitors' trophies, which had been erected according to the official allotment of space, so crowded the nave of the Exhibition, that a procession could not pass down it, as Mr. Cole had wished. The Commissioners at this late hour gave orders for the removal of these trophies. But the order for the alteration could not of course be then carried out; modifications in the programme for the 1st May had to be therefore adopted. On the 30th April: "To Exhibition at 5.50 a.m.," after which was a rehearsal of the music. The throne prepared for the Special Commissioners appointed to represent her Majesty the Queen at the opening, had been erected at the west end. At the east end the music was to be performed. "The Duke of Cambridge, Lord Granville, Lord Palmerston, and the Lord Chancellor came to the west dome to hear the music. At 2 decided to have the throne removed to centre of nave. I said injustice would thereby be done to 15,000 persons,"<sup>1</sup> who had purchased their places in the belief that the announced arrangements would be adhered to. "The Duke of Cambridge told Lord Granville I would not change. Lord Granville said he was sure I should. All consulted, and upon a suggestion of Donnelly's,<sup>2</sup> it was settled to let the throne remain, and bring the reserved seat holders to the east dome." 1st May: "Exhibition at 7.30.

INTER-  
NATIONAL  
EXHIBITION  
OF 1862.

A.D.  
1858-1863.  
Part I.

<sup>1</sup> Diary.

<sup>2</sup> Now Colonel Donnelly, Assistant-Secretary of the Education Depart-

ment (Science and Art Department), and chief administrative officer at South Kensington.

INTER-  
NATIONAL  
EXHIBITION  
OF 1862.

A.D.  
1858-1863.  
Part I.  
Opening of  
Exhibition.

Entrance blocked with sculpture, packing-cases, and boards. No pedestals coloured for statuary."<sup>1</sup> "By Thompson's<sup>2</sup> and Owen's<sup>3</sup> aid, and by the Hon. Artillery Company, the place was made tidy; ceremony went off well." "The Lord Chancellor told me he thought it a better pageant than 1851." "Prince Oscar of Sweden had asked the Lord Chancellor, in the most urbane manner, if he was the Lord Mayor." "Mayne (Sir Richard) (the Chief Commissioner of Police) trying to jump over turnstile, had been brought down by one of his own policemen."<sup>1</sup>

Clearing  
nave of the  
Exhibition  
of trophies.

XXVIII. Immediately after the opening had taken place, the clearance of the nave of its crowded trophies, had to be effected. A minute was passed putting this re-arrangement into Mr. Cole's hands. But here the Commissioners wished to interfere. "I said I must have everything at my disposal." It was an unpleasant and invidious task, ousting exhibitors from spaces formally granted to them. Foundations of heavy sculptures, of a lighthouse, of a Birmingham small arms trophy, trophies of woven stuffs, of pickles, and all sorts of edibles, &c., had to be taken up and removed without inconvenience to the public, who were now admitted to the Exhibition. By the 19th May, the work was finished, and a clear promenade provided across the building from one great dome to the other.

Financial  
condition of  
the Exhi-  
bition.

XXIX. The state into which the affairs of the Exhibition had got, may be inferred from a note on the 22nd May, that there was "no knowledge of the liabilities." Orders were given by "every one," and "no minutes, as a rule,"<sup>1</sup> were kept. To anticipate a deficit in such circumstances was unpleasant, but perhaps none the less politic. "Told Mr. Baring there would be a deficit. He was pre-

Deficit anti-  
cipated.

<sup>1</sup> Diary.

<sup>2</sup> See page 184, vol. ii., note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Now Sir Philip Cunliffe-Owen,

K.C.M.G., C.B., director of the  
Museum, South Kensington.



pared for it, since the Prince's death. Must avoid calling on guarantors, as principle of International Exhibitions must not be imperilled. Told him Commissioners of 1851 must pay if necessary."<sup>1</sup> "Told Lord Granville I estimated the loss at £70,000. 'Don't name it,' he said." "Drafting scheme for use of the building after the Exhibition." By January, 1863, this scheme was embodied in a confidential memorandum "prepared at the desire of the Lord President of the Council." The Exhibition buildings were to be allotted for the accommodation of "the Natural History and Ethnology of the British Museum, with the Geological Museum; the Patent Museum, and its library and appurtenances; the National Portrait Gallery, in the expectation that the portraits from the British Museum, those of Hampton Court Palace, and elsewhere, may possibly be brought together; and the Royal Academy." The necessity of finding more space for the collections of the British Museum, had come before Parliament during the earlier part of the session of 1862. Mr. Gladstone, on the 20th May, 1862, made a statement to the House of Commons in respect of the comparative cost of land, if acquired at Bloomsbury or at South Kensington, and concluded his statement thus: "Summing up the whole figures, whichever way the question is viewed, it is a matter of considerable public outlay. The whole of the charge (*i.e.*, for land and new buildings) for the purpose at Kensington will be from £670,000 to £680,000. But if the same amount of accommodation is provided at the present museum (*i.e.*, at Bloomsbury), the charge will be about £960,000 to £970,000." Government did not then obtain Parliamentary sanction. Some opposition had been manifested at this time to carry out the proposed arrangement at South Kensington. Of the Exhibition buildings themselves, on the other hand, it was

INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION OF 1862.

A.D. 1858-1863.

Part I.

Scheme for using the Exhibition buildings.

Proposed completion of Exhibition buildings.

<sup>1</sup> Diary.

INTER-  
NATIONAL  
EXHIBITION  
OF 1862.

A.D.  
1858-1863.

Part I.

Plans for  
a New  
Natural  
History  
Museum at  
South Ken-  
sington.

Declaration  
of awards to  
exhibitors.

Economy  
in expenses  
desired.

thought that they could certainly be completed with fine architectural effect, and Captain Fowke made important drawings, which demonstrated this successfully. Subsequently, when Government had purchased the site from the Commissioners of 1851, the Exhibition buildings were pulled down. It was then decided to erect new buildings for the Natural History Collections of the British Museum. An open competition of designs for these buildings took place, the judges being Lord Elcho, M.P., Mr. Tite, M.P., Mr. Fergusson (all of whom had taken an active part in opposing the maintenance of the Exhibition buildings), Mr. Pennethorne, and Mr. D. Roberts, R.A. Their award of the first prize fell to the set of designs marked "Ad ogni ucello il suo nido e bello." When the sealed envelopes containing competitors' names were opened, it was found that the first prize winner was Captain Fowke. Captain Fowke died before his buildings were put in hand. Some time afterwards the First Commissioner of Works set aside these prize designs; and the buildings now occupying a portion of the site of the Exhibition of 1862, were erected from designs by Mr. Alfred Waterhouse, R.A. Having briefly mentioned these facts, it will be well to return to the Exhibition.

XXX. A public declaration of the prizes to exhibitors took place on the 11th July, and an attractive feature in the proceedings was the number of foreign military bands from France, Austria, Belgium, Holland, Italy, Prussia, and Egypt, assisting at the ceremony. As the Exhibition proceeded towards its close, "Lord Granville wished to know if the expenses could not be reduced." Accordingly, much time in August was devoted to "examining expenditure of the Commissioners of '62." Negotiations with the contractors were commenced; and to some extent they were successful in diminishing the pecuniary amount of the



Commissioners' indebtedness to them, upon certain considerations. The senior contractor, Mr. John Kelk, behaved in a liberal spirit, saying he would personally guarantee £40,000. The contractors, as a firm, also agreed to forego certain payments due from the Commissioners, so that sufficient money might become available for current expenses of management. On the 1st November, the Exhibition closed, and Mr. Kelk placed the sum of £11,000 at the disposal of the Commissioners, to enable them to balance their accounts without making any call upon the guarantors.

XXXI. The total receipts had been £469,000, and the cost of the buildings, roads, &c., was £346,000. The balance of £123,000 was spent in the organization and administration of the Exhibition.

INTER-  
NATIONAL  
EXHIBITION  
OF 1862.

A. D.  
1858-1863.  
Part I.

Call upon  
guarantors  
rendered  
unnecessary  
by Mr.  
Kelk.

Receipts  
and expen-  
diture of  
Exhibition  
of 1862.





## WORK WITH INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS (*continued*).

INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION OF PARIS, 1867.

### PART I.

1865—1867.

#### I.

PARIS  
EXHIBITION  
OF 1867.  
A.D.  
1865-1867.  
Part I.  
Royal Com-  
mission and  
administra-  
tion.



THE Executive Commissioner and Secretary to the Royal Commission issued to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, to the Lord President of the Council, and a numerous body of noblemen and gentlemen representing various interests in the United Kingdom, Mr. Cole was charged with carrying out the administration and arrangement of the British section of the Exhibition in Paris, in 1867. Whilst "the functions of the Royal Commissioners were deliberative," "the responsibility for all executive measures rested solely upon the Lord President." "The Paris Exhibition differed in many respects from all previous universal Exhibitions. It was at least four times as large as any former one. It embraced many new features in respect of the objects to be exhibited; besides the representation of modern works, it comprised an exhibition of ancient works of art, even from a prehistoric period. It aimed at representing not merely the process of manufac-



ture, but the manners and customs of nations, and dancing, singing, various theatrical representations, sports, and shops, were admitted within its scope."<sup>1</sup> The Champs de Mars, the scene of many historic events, was selected as the site for this unprecedented display. An elliptical building consisting of a series of zones, was the principal construction. Each zone was assigned to a special group of objects. A segment of the series of zones was allotted to each country, upon what proved to be a fallacious theory, that every nation would exhibit an equal proportion of objects in each group; English machinery, for instance, would, it was thought, bear the same proportion to English manufactures as Turkish machinery to Turkish manufactures. "But when the stern facts of the case had to be dealt with in the actual arrangements, discordant violations of principle were to be found throughout the Exhibition."<sup>1</sup>

II. The great main building stood in the central part of the Champs de Mars. About it, the grounds, fancifully laid out as gardens, were studded with buildings of every description—an Imperial Pavilion for the use of Imperial and Royal visitors, a Club House and Concert Room, a Japanese Theatre, Russian pine-wood stables, workshops, forges, glass-blowing furnaces, &c. In the British section of the park, as it was termed, an ornamented terra-cotta structure, consisting of open colonnade and a roof, was built to house the great boilers which supplied steam to the British machinery in the Exhibition; a good-sized cottage in which various sanitary, heating, and lighting appliances were publicly experimented with, a skeleton lighthouse for the electric lamp shown by the Trinity House, two considerable sheds for displaying munitions of war, and a large barrack hut, were all specially erected by the British Commission.

PARIS  
EXHIBITION  
OF 1867.  
A.D.  
1865-1867.  
Part I.  
Building in  
Champs de  
Mars.

<sup>1</sup> See Report of the Executive Commissioner for the United Kingdom at the Paris Exhibition. Presented to both Houses of Parliament, 1869.

PARIS  
EXHIBITION  
OF 1867.  
A.D.  
1865-1867.  
Part I.  
Government  
departments  
exhibiting.  
Government  
"exhibits."

III. In previous Exhibitions, different departments of Government had not taken part as exhibitors. But on this occasion, the Admiralty, the War Department, Trinity House, Post Office, Treasury, Science and Art Department, Board of Trade, and Irish Commissioners of Fisheries contributed objects, amongst which were a set of marine engines of 350 horse power, made for H.M.S. "Sappho," a complete set of boats in use in H.M. Navy, heavy ordnance (a 600-pound gun), field guns, small arms, camp and hospital equipage, clothing, barrack fittings, models of apparatus, machines, mail carriages, and steam ships used by the General Post Office, a collection of historic chronicles and records, including a fac-simile of the Doomsday Book, apparatus for coast-guard service, geological and ordnance survey maps, models of fish passes, fishing apparatus, specimens of decorative work executed for the South Kensington Museum, such as stained glass, bronzed doors, majolica columns, mosaics for wall and floor decoration, fine brickwork and terra cotta, plaster casts, electrotypes, and photographs of ancient works of art, and specimens of the cases in which objects and diagrams are exhibited in the South Kensington Museum. In addition to this a collection was made of specimens of periodical and ephemeral literature of the United Kingdom, which excited interest and comment.

Cost of  
British sec-  
tion.

IV. The cost of carrying out much of the work above indicated, obviously entailed an expenditure of public money far greater than that incurred on the occasion of the Paris Exhibition of 1855. A knowledge of the amount of funds available for an undertaking, is always desirable before embarking upon the enterprise. But, although the schemes projected by the French Government were fairly well known early in 1866, it was not until the commencement of 1867 that Mr. Cole succeeded in obtaining the approval of the Treasury to an estimate of the probable expenses. His



final estimate was for £128,315, which included, according to usual practice in framing estimates, a percentage for contingencies. The Treasury, however, would not consent to the contingencies, and finally printed the estimates for an expenditure of £116,650. As a matter of fact, however, what with the expenses of the Government departments which exhibited, of a number of unforeseen accidents, such as imperfections in the building, the high tides of the Seine, &c., the amount which had to be spent was £120,154—so that Mr. Cole was within the limits of his original estimate. Comparatively small as this matter may appear to be, it was one which gave rise to a great deal of correspondence and laborious consideration. His Grace the Duke of Buckingham was Lord President of the Council at the time, and as it seemed that each detail of expenditure required the close scrutiny of the Executive of the Royal Commission as well as of the officers of the Treasury, His Grace paid two or three visits to Paris to obtain that insight into the work and its requirements, which enabled him to support the representations regarding the necessary expenditure, which Mr. Cole had to make to the Treasury. It was with "great regret" that my father heard of the Duke's resignation, in March, 1867, of the office of Lord President.

V. Previously to discharging the onerous task of convincing the Treasury that if England were to fulfil the obligations incurred by her acceptance of the invitation from the French Government, she should do so in a liberal manner, Mr. Cole had been drawn into a voluminous correspondence with the Imperial French Commission. This was eventually published as a Parliamentary paper on the 20th June, 1867, and it contains a number of official memoranda and other documents which are not perhaps, altogether uninteresting. The following is given as an example. It was addressed by Mr. Cole to M.

PARIS  
EXHIBITION  
OF 1867.  
A.D.  
1865-1867.  
Part I.

Corre-  
spondence  
with Impe-  
rial Com-  
mission.

PARIS  
EXHIBITION  
OF 1867.  
A.D.  
1865-1867.  
Part I.

Le Play,<sup>1</sup> the Chief Commissioner for France, who had planned the Exhibition and framed its regulations. "The innovations on the precedents of the International Exhibitions of 1851, 1855, and 1862, which you propose to introduce into the next Exhibition at Paris in 1867, by asking foreign exhibitors, at their own cost, to complete the structure of the French Exhibition building, with flooring, partitions, decorations, blinds, &c., may not, I hope, prove insurmountable difficulties with the British exhibitors of manufactures and machinery, although they will undoubtedly tend to discourage future Exhibitions; but with respect to the British exhibitors in the Fine Arts, and the proposed collection of rare objects illustrating the History of Labour, they appear to me to create an obstacle which will render these portions of the Exhibition impossible. . . . To invite people to show works of art when there is no commercial or indeed any other kind of motive but simply the desire to meet the wishes of a good neighbour, and to ask the senders to place them within bare walls, seems to me like inviting guests to come to see you in their best clothes, jewels, and velvets, and putting them into a temporary shed, and telling them to furnish it at their own cost and make themselves comfortable if they can." This, however, was a gentle prelude to what should afterwards take place. There can be little question that the Imperial Commission tacitly permitted M. Le Play, as far as lay in his power, to burden foreign Commissions without precedent. His particular object in doing so may have been legitimate under certain circumstances. The American Commissioner, Mr. Beckwith, after inspecting the space allotted to his country, remarked to my father, "They ask you to make an exhibition, and

<sup>1</sup> M. Le Play was an old acquaintance of my father, and was a distinguished social and political economist. He died in 1882.



do all they can to prevent it. They give you only a roof and a sand bed." <sup>1</sup>

PARIS  
EXHIBITION  
OF 1867.

A.D.  
1865-1867.  
Part I.

Sale of con-  
cessions by  
Imperial  
Commis-  
sion.

VI. The official report which was published, shows how, to turn a penny at every corner, the Imperial Commission had sold all sorts of rights to different contractors; these were the rights of publishing catalogues, of putting up blinds, of using hanging scaffolds, of bringing seats or chairs into the precincts of the Exhibition, &c. Consequently, during the whole course of the Exhibition, the French Commission were involved in legal proceedings, and actions also hung over the United Kingdom.

VII. Subject as all were to the inconveniences and irritations resulting from these innovations in the practice of administering International Exhibitions, the Foreign Commissioners had a common cause, and arranged to hold periodical meetings to consider how each country might assist the other, and when as a body all should act in concert against the Imperial Commission. The first of these meetings was held at the offices of the British Commission, and notice of it having reached M. Le Play, he despatched one of his "sous-commissaires" to call, and request to be admitted. But "the meeting was averse to his presence, and D—— left, saying it was a conspiracy!" <sup>1</sup> The British executive was for a time very deeply in the black books of the Commissaire-Général, and he had not concealed the fact. Amongst other accessories to administration, he had obtained the appointment of a Committee of Installation, whose peculiar office was to approve of the appropriate allotment of spaces in respect of large objects. One of the largest objects exhibited by Great Britain was a specimen of the red-brick and terra-cotta architecture adopted at South Kensington. Several times Mr. Cole had proposed different sites for it, but none found favour with the Committee of

Meetings of  
Foreign  
Commis-  
sioners.

Imperial  
Commission  
and British  
Fine Art.

<sup>1</sup> Diary.

PARIS  
EXHIBITION  
OF 1867.

A.D.  
1865-1867.  
Part I.

Installation, who at length volunteered a suggestion that this specimen of architecture should be classed as Fine Art, and be erected accordingly in the British Fine Art Gallery. At first my father was disposed to ignore the suggestion as too foolish.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, he met Monsieur Le Play in the building, and M. Le Play seriously maintained that bricks and terra cotta were suitable companions for pictures and sculpture. Mr. Cole told him he thought the idea was insulting, upon which the Commissaire-Général, in the presence of various officials who were near at hand, "got into a passion," "became white," and "shook his crooked finger until he spent himself."<sup>2</sup> An account of the incident got wind, and the next day when Mr. Cole attended a meeting with the Imperial Commissioners and others, Mons. Rouher and Marshal Vaillant greeted him with some humour, telling him that Le Play had arrived and was waiting for him "avec impatience."<sup>3</sup>

VIII. A few incidents of what may be considered to be outside the bounds of the formal official work, may perhaps be of sufficient interest to mention, in illustration of the numerous points of administration which had to be seen to. Whilst the preparation of the works proceeded in Paris, the arrangements for fully displaying British productions and arts, &c., engaged the attention of the Royal Commission and its many committees in London. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales presided at frequent meetings of the Commission. His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh was the chairman of the Navigation Committee. An international regatta was one of the items in the programme of the Imperial Commission. It was decided that the cost of

Inter-  
national  
Regatta.

<sup>1</sup> He sent a memorandum to M. Le Play: "As I cannot agree in the taste of the Committee of Installation that brick and terra cotta would be appropriate by the side of Meisso-

nier's paintings, so I cannot adopt the committee's suggestion to place them in the gallery of the Fine Arts by the side of Mulready's pictures."

<sup>2</sup> Diary.



England's share in this regatta should not be paid for out of the votes of Parliament;<sup>1</sup> accordingly, a committee raised private subscriptions to undertake this work and to offer handsome prizes to be competed for on the Seine by British oarsmen. Then, Mr. Beresford-Hope interested himself in behalf of Architecture, and was the chairman of a committee to arrange this division. His zeal led him to apply "for half the space of the whole of the British section."<sup>2</sup> His committee, without sanction from head-quarters, issued a paper to probable exhibitors, which "was against the rules."<sup>3</sup> Had it been permitted to take effect, numerous exhibitors would have had two and more allotments of space for the same class of objects. "Mr. Hope and Architectural Committee called to discuss correspondence. Mr. Hope said, he must defend his committee. I said, I must protect the Paris rules, whether good or bad, and told them I would not allow them to allot space for objects not architectural, or to the same exhibitors twice over."<sup>4</sup> The formation of a collection of ancient works<sup>5</sup> of art to illustrate a "history of labour" became an apple of discord. The chairman of the English Committee wished to take the management of the business absolutely into his own hands. Official etiquette was almost defied, and for a time the formation

PARIS  
EXHIBITION  
OF 1867.  
A.D.  
1865-1867.  
Part I.

Architec-  
ture.

History of  
Labour.

<sup>1</sup> "Mr. Lowe (one of H.M. Commissioners) was against any regatta, and thought dancing and shaving might as well be represented."

<sup>2</sup> Diary.

<sup>3</sup> The collection was to represent:—  
1st epoch. The British Isles (Albion and Ierne), anterior to the use of metals. Stone age.

2nd epoch. Anterior to the Roman invasion of Britain.

3rd epoch. During the dominion of the Romans in Britain.

4th and 5th epochs. From the de-

parture of the Romans (409) to the reign of Egbert (828), down to the Conquest (1066).

6th epoch. Till the end of the Plantagenet dynasty (1485).

7th epoch. The Tudor dynasty to accession of James I. (1603).

8th epoch. The Stuarts down to George I. (1714).

9th epoch. The House of Hanover down to accession of George III. (1760).

10th epoch. The reign of George III. down to 1800.

PARIS  
EXHIBITION  
OF 1867.  
A.D.  
1865-1867.  
Part I.

Convention  
for repro-  
duction and  
interchange  
of works of  
art.

of the collection seemed to be impracticable. The committee met, and as my father notes in his diary, were frequently "rude." "Let them talk," said the Lord President, "and Cole will select what he thinks prudent,"<sup>1</sup> and so in time difficulties were set right.

IX. Two events of importance to the South Kensington Museum and its kindred institutions, took place during the Paris Exhibition. The first was mainly due to the numerous royal personages who visited Paris from time to time in the year. His Majesty the King of the Belgians was one of the earliest of these illustrious visitors. His Majesty inspected the English division on the 13th April, and warmly approved of the appointment of an International Commission for causing reproductions of famous typical works of art in different countries to be made.<sup>2</sup> During May, Prince Oscar (now King) of Sweden, visited the Exhibition. His Royal Highness "promised to be one of an International Association to get reproductions, and was delighted with the idea."<sup>1</sup> "Owen saw Prince Napoleon, who would act for reproductions."<sup>1</sup> The scheme was next mentioned to their Royal Highnesses the Crown Prince and Princess of Prussia. The Princess cordially approved of it, and undertook to obtain the signatures of princes to a "convention," of which Mr. Cole prepared the draft on the 30th of May. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales was the first to sign this paper, then the Duke of Edinburgh, after whom followed the Crown Prince of Prussia, Prince Louis of Hesse, the Prince Royal of Saxony, Prince Napo-

<sup>1</sup> Diary.

<sup>2</sup> A Minute of the Lords of the Committee of Council on Education had been passed on the 8th Feb., 1864, with the view of ascertaining "how friendly relations might, with reciprocal advantages, be established between foreign museums and the

South Kensington Museum for the purpose of organizing some system of an international exchange of copies of the finest works of art which each museum possesses." (See 12th Report of the Science and Art Department.)



leon (Jerome), the Count of Flanders, the Cesarevitch, the Duke of Leuchtenberg, Prince Oscar of Sweden, the Prince Royal of Italy, the Duke of Aosta, the Archdukes Charles Louis and Rainer of Austria, and the Crown Prince of Denmark. This is not the place to speak of the results which have been secured by means of this Convention.<sup>1</sup>

X. The second event was the purchase of a number of valuable works of art and of technical scientific interest, ancient and modern, for the collections of the South Kensington Museum. Mr. Cole had already mooted the possibility of procuring such specimens when he "met Layard, and asked him to move for a Select Committee"<sup>2</sup> to recom-

PARIS  
EXHIBITION  
OF 1867.  
A.D.  
1865-1867.  
Part I.

Purchases  
from Exhi-  
bition.

<sup>1</sup> The Convention was printed in the 15th Report of the Science and Art Department, together with the letter addressed by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales to His Grace the Lord President of the Council. The Convention is as follows:—

*"Convention for promoting universally Reproductions of Works of Art for the benefit of Museums of all Countries.*—Throughout the world every country possesses fine Historical Monuments of Art of its own, which can easily be reproduced by Casts, Electrotypes, Photographs, and other processes, without the slightest damage to the originals.

"(a) The knowledge of such monuments is necessary to the progress of Art, and the reproductions of them would be of a high value to all Museums for public instruction.

"(b) The commencement of a system of reproducing Works of Art has been made by the South Kensington Museum, and illustrations of it are now exhibited in the British Section of the Paris Exhibition, where may be seen specimens of French, Indian, Spanish, Portuguese, German, Swiss,

Russian, Hindoo, Celtic, and English art.

"(c) The following outline of operations is suggested:

"I. Each country to form its own Commission according to its own views for obtaining such reproductions as it may desire for its own Museums.

"II. The Commissions of each country to correspond with one another and send information of what reproductions each causes to be made, so that every country, if disposed, may take advantage of the labours of other countries at a moderate cost.

"III. Each country to arrange for making exchanges of objects which it desires.

"IV. In order to promote the formation of the proposed Commissions in each country and facilitate the making of reproductions, the undersigned Members of the reigning families throughout Europe, meeting at the Paris Exhibition of 1867, have signified their approval of the plan, and their desire to promote the realization of it."

<sup>2</sup> Diary.

PARIS  
EXHIBITION  
OF 1867.  
A.D.  
1865-1867.  
Part I.

mend the making of such purchases. The House of Commons agreed to Mr. Layard's<sup>1</sup> motion, and the Select Committee recommended a maximum expenditure of £25,000.<sup>2</sup> No supplementary vote, however, was proposed for the purpose. The Treasury agreed that if a saving could be effected out of the £116,650 voted for the services of the Exhibition, purchases not to exceed £15,000 might be made. It was difficult to foretell what, if any, economy could be effected in the expenses. The selection of objects to be bought was evidently a matter not to be postponed until the Exhibition had been closed; a committee, consisting of Lord Elcho, Lord Foley, and Mr. A. W. Franks, therefore commenced the selection of objects on the 22nd August, and purchases up to £5,000<sup>3</sup> were sanctioned and concluded.

Banquet to  
Imperial  
Commission.

XI. My father's closely filled diary for 1867, records a number of incidents connected with his Exhibition work, which limits of space make it impossible to give here. As the time drew near for closing the Exhibition, the Foreign Commissioners agreed to invite the Imperial Commission to a banquet. This took place at the Hôtel du Louvre on the 26th October, and many hundreds of guests were entertained. The service, however, well-nigh broke down, and but for "Lord Granville's chairmanship, which was perfectly successful, and charmed everyone,"<sup>4</sup> the banquet threatened to be a *fiasco*. On a smaller scale, a fête was given at Fontainebleau, to the military, naval, and civil *employés* in the British section. "10th Nov. Left at 8 with a party

<sup>1</sup> Now Rt. Hon. Sir Austen H. Layard, G.C.B.

<sup>2</sup> See Report of Select Committee of House of Commons, ordered to be printed 11th July, 1867.

<sup>3</sup> "At the Council Office." The Duke of Marlborough proposed to make up a sum of money for buying things by assuming a balance upon

the vote for the Paris Exhibition, and putting it with the balance of the ordinary annual vote to the Kensington Museum for art purchases. "I said it was 'unconstitutional'—he said 'I am the judge of that.'" The next day, "£5,000 was to be assumed as the contingent balance."

<sup>4</sup> Diary.



of all our staff—about 104. Four omnibuses full. To Fontainebleau. Arrived at 11.30. Café au lait at Hôtel de Lyon; over the Chateau. The *régisseur*, M. Lanny, showed us everywhere. I acted as spokesman. Dined at 3. Our sailors remarked that it was a good dinner. Drank toasts to the Queen, the Emperor, our guests, our next merry meeting, my health, and the ladies. Home at 9.30. The whole passed off without a single mistake.”<sup>1</sup>

PARIS  
EXHIBITION  
OF 1867.  
A.D.  
1865-1867.  
Part I.  
Fête to  
English  
employés.

<sup>1</sup> Diary.





## WORK WITH INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS (*continued*).

INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS, 1871, 1872, 1873, 1874, AT SOUTH KENSINGTON.<sup>1</sup>

### PART I.

#### I.

INTER-  
NATIONAL  
EXHIBI-  
TIONS.  
A.D.  
1871-1874.  
Part I.



WHEN the arrangement of the first great Exhibition of 1851 was under consideration, the Prince Consort strongly expressed his wishes that the arrangement should not be geographical, but according to classes of like things with like things. I recollect his saying, 'put all pianofortes together.' I felt (having charge of the arrangement) that such a classification would be impracticable, without first possessing an accurate knowledge of the objects and the quantities coming. The uncertainty of the time of arrival of the objects, was also an element which opposed the adoption of such a classification. Colonel Reid agreed with me; and the Prince, as was his wont, gave up his own opinion, but expressed his regret. The idea had always lingered with me.

II. Accordingly, in 1867, when a meeting of the commis-

<sup>1</sup> My father had almost completed this chapter. His original MS. has, as far as possible, been adhered to.



sioners representing Austria, Italy, Prussia, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States, was held at Paris, the management of future international exhibitions was discussed, and the following decisions were arrived at:—

1. That as the usefulness of international exhibitions does not depend on their size, but on their selectness and quality, so the tendency to increase the size of each succeeding exhibition should be discouraged.

2. That it is desirable that future exhibitions should be held in rotation in various capitals.

3. That the country inviting the exhibition to be held, should provide at its own risk a suitable building, completely finished in all respects, provided with all conveniences for unloading and loading, and perhaps supplied with sufficient glass cases.

4. That before any code of general regulations for the management of exhibitions be promulgated, the Commissioners of each nation occupying a given amount of space, be assembled to discuss them, each nation having one representative or an equal number of representatives, but that the country inviting the exhibition should have a veto on the decisions, and the power of limiting the extent of the exhibition, and the number of classes to be shown.

5. That in order to promote the comparison of objects, the general principle of the arrangement be rather by classes than by nationalities.

6. That no objects be removed out of the exhibition for the purpose of sale, and that means be taken to prevent its becoming a fair or bazaar.

7. That the number of classes adopted in the present Paris Exhibition be greatly increased in future exhibitions.

8. That no prizes of any kind be awarded, but that reports on every class be made and signed by an international jury,

INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS.

A. D. 1871-1874.

Part I.

Meeting of Foreign Commissioners to Paris Exhibition of 1867 to discuss management of future international exhibitions.

Victory  
the  
Iconography  
of Sci  
XXXXX

INTER-  
NATIONAL  
EXHIBI-  
TIONS.

A.D.  
1871-1874.  
Part I.

Buildings  
on the Com-  
missioners'  
estate at  
South Ken-  
sington.

which reports should be published during the exhibition, and as soon as possible after the opening.

9. That each country, for every class in which it has exhibitors, be free to send one reporter for each class.

"We all felt the many inconveniences of the Paris Exhibition, and its tendency greater than ever to make international exhibitions great fairs."

III. In 1868, the buildings upon the estate of Her Majesty's Commissioners were developing. The Horticultural Society occupied the main portion of the land; around which, on the east, west, and at the north, were covered arcades or corridors, with a long series of galleries at the south, a large conservatory at the north centre, and the Royal Albert Hall in course of construction beyond the conservatory. Adjoining the covered arcades, was ample space for the erection of a range of top-lighted picture galleries, above an equally extensive suite of side-lighted rooms, useful for ordinary exhibition purposes. The erection of such galleries and rooms, clearly would be a step towards completing buildings, such as the Prince Consort had desired for meeting the needs of science, art, and manufactures. These buildings, moreover, would tend to the architectural completeness of a main portion of the Commissioners' estate. With considerations like these in mind, proposals for holding a series of annual international exhibitions in London, were drawn up (see Vol. II., *Selections*, p. 269). They received support from many influential persons.

Lord  
Derby's  
concurrence.

IV. July 11th, 1868: "With Grey<sup>1</sup> and Scott,<sup>2</sup> called on Lord Derby, who agreed that if annual international exhibitions were to be established, the Commissioners of 1851 should conduct them. He suggested that they should

<sup>1</sup> General the Hon. C. Grey.

<sup>2</sup> General H. Y. D. Scott, R.E., C.B., F.R.S.



guarantee £50,000 to the proposed system." Four days afterwards, a meeting of the Provisional Committee of the Royal Albert Hall, was held at Marlborough House, H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, President; H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh, the Earl of Derby, and others being present. "After two hours' talk, I handed a resolution affirming international exhibitions to Mr. Bruce,<sup>1</sup> who moved it, and Lord Granville seconded it." The resolution passed, was to ask the Commissioners of 1851 to guarantee £100,000 to carry out the Exhibitions, and to provide the buildings required. An extract from the minutes of this meeting runs thus: "The Provisional Committee desire to recommend to Her Majesty's Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851, the favourable consideration of the proposed plan of annual international exhibitions." Her Majesty's Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851, considered this recommendation on the 18th July. Although "Lord Overstone was opposing, and, excepting Lord Granville and Mr. Bruce, none of the Commissioners were hearty," the scheme of holding annual international exhibitions was virtually adopted by the Commissioners, who considered that the proposed exhibitions were likely to confer important benefits upon the manufacturing and commercial interests of the country; that they were within the objects of their charter; and that they would be justified in making a liberal application of the resources at their command, towards carrying them out.

V. To recapitulate the details how the exhibitions were carried into effect, would take more space than can be here allowed. The fulfilment of the scheme of the series, was to extend throughout ten years (see Vol. II., Selections, p. 271), and its entire executive organization may perhaps be said to have devolved upon Mr. Cole.

VI. Four exhibitions, however, of the proposed ten, alone

INTER-  
NATIONAL  
EXHIBI-  
TIONS.

A.D.  
1871-1874.  
Part I.  
Meeting  
at Marl-  
borough  
House.

Opening of  
first exhibi-

<sup>1</sup> Now Lord Aberdare.

INTRO-  
DUCTORY  
EXHIBITION.  
IN THE  
MUSEUM OF  
ARTS AND  
CRAFTS.  
SECTION I.  
SECTION II.  
SECTION III.  
SECTION IV.  
SECTION V.  
SECTION VI.  
SECTION VII.  
SECTION VIII.  
SECTION IX.  
SECTION X.  
SECTION XI.  
SECTION XII.  
SECTION XIII.  
SECTION XIV.  
SECTION XV.  
SECTION XVI.  
SECTION XVII.  
SECTION XVIII.  
SECTION XIX.  
SECTION XX.

took place. The first was opened on the 1st May, 1871, on behalf of the Queen, by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, accompanied by H.R.H. the Princess Helena of Great Britain and Ireland (Princess Christian of Schleswig-Holstein). The ceremonial was invested with much state. An official programme of the ceremonial was issued by the Lord Chamberlain. Yeomen of the Guard were on duty. Levée dress was worn, and the occasion was raised to the dignity of "Collar Day." The procession, consisting of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, with other royal personages; foreign commissioners; the councils of the Society of Arts and of the Royal Horticultural Society; members of the staff and committees of the Exhibition; high sheriffs of counties of the United Kingdom; the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and Recorder of the City of London, and the municipal authorities of the United Kingdom; chairmen of Chambers of Commerce; and the City Companies, traversed the corridors and picture galleries, thus making a circuit of at least a mile, round the buildings on the estate of Her Majesty's Commissioners for the Great Exhibition of 1851. The inauguration of the series of annual exhibitions seemed to give promise of a bright prospect.

VII. "Knollys wrote immediately afterwards, to express the Prince's thanks" for the arrangements, "Spencer Ponsonby said I made a first-rate Master of the Ceremonies,"<sup>1</sup> and Mr. W. E. Forster, M.P., said, "I was the only despot that could have made a procession walk a mile." A cause of the Exhibition's ultimate want of success may be ascribed "to the want of concentration of the objects into *one* spot, and to the impediments in crossing the Horticultural Gardens. If the Gardens had been open to the visitors of the Exhibition, I am satisfied the deficit of about £20,000 on the receipt of £165,000, would not have accrued."<sup>2</sup>

Causes of  
ultimate  
want of suc-  
cess.

<sup>1</sup> Diary.

<sup>2</sup> Memoranda.



VIII. Upon the conclusion of the Exhibition in 1871, the receipts amounted to upwards of £75,545, which would have covered the cost of the Exhibition (including payments such as £5,030 to the Royal Horticultural Society, £5,000 for works in the Royal Albert Hall), had they not been reduced by £20,000, which the administration of the Exhibition paid to Her Majesty's Commissioners, at a time in 1871 when their expectations seemed to justify it.

INTERNATIONAL  
EXHIBITIONS.  
A.D.  
1871-1874.  
Part I.

IX. For three succeeding years, exhibitions were held, but the receipts were insufficient to repay the Commissioners the amount expended in the permanent buildings, &c. The arrangement of like objects with like objects was adhered to, and "well worked out with pottery, jewellery, lace, and carriages." "I believe it," writes my father, "to be far more scientific and technically useful than the geographical system; but it is less picturesque and popular. It imposes greater labour and cost, and more responsibility. Its defects are more obvious. It is a system quite suitable for a museum, and may be *permanent* in a museum; but is not the best for an extemporized work like an international exhibition, always done in a hurry, and where the work is little under control. Each succeeding exhibition in this series, so far as manufactures were concerned, was an improvement on its predecessors; but it seemed as the Exhibition improved in quality and technical instructiveness, the attraction declined for the general public." "The aim of these exhibitions was especially technical instruction, and nearest in analogy to that of the South Kensington Museum." "Dividing the whole deficit over the number of visitors, each visitor may be said to have cost the Commissioners twopence. Viewed as a contribution in aid of technical instruction, this is trifling in comparison with the payment per visitor to the British Museum, which amounts to about four shillings per annum, whilst each visitor to the

Technical  
instruction  
the aim of  
these exhi-  
bitions.

INTER-  
NATIONAL  
EXHIBI-  
TIONS.

A.D.  
1871-1874.  
Part I.

Exhibitions  
not self-  
supporting.

Modifica-  
tions which  
might be  
tried.

Exhibitions  
of art and  
manufac-  
tures might  
be under-  
taken by  
the pro-  
ducers them-  
selves.

South Kensington Museum costs under 1s. 6d., and each visitor to the Crystal Palace costs the management about one shilling."

X. Experience seemed to indicate that, unless changes were made, the exhibitions could not be made self-supporting. "I therefore came to the conclusion that the experiment to make them so ought not to be persevered in, especially as the Commissioners had not ready-money capital, although possessing a large property in land. And so I advised Her Majesty's Commissioners to abandon them. But I consider that the experiment was a right and useful one to have been made, and I do not regret having warmly recommended it."

XI. "The modifications which I think might, perhaps, be tried, would be to have a perpetual exhibition of all novelties only in science and art; to reduce the periods for which the objects should be deposited; to have the exhibition open all the year round; and to allow the objects to be sold and removed, on condition that another copy is sent. I think the exhibition of scientific novelties ought to be made by the Patent Museum, which I hope may be turned into a Museum of Scientific Industry, as recommended by the Duke of Devonshire's Commission;<sup>1</sup> and the public admitted three days a week free. The income of the Commissioners of Patents, which is £80,000, would easily provide for this."

XII. "As respects the exhibition of the new art and other manufactures, it may be doubted if the South Kensington Museum ought to do this work. Narrow trade jealousies, interests, and prejudices would make any Government timid in the administration. But there seems no good reason why the producers themselves should not undertake it as a limited liability company, and conduct it on commercial

<sup>1</sup> Royal Commission on Scientific Instruction, &c., 1874.



principles, to the benefit of technical instruction and the general consumer. Retailers might be exhibitors as well as manufacturers."

XIII. "I doubt if any but large international exhibitions will sufficiently attract the foreigner. If my doubts are correct, then I am of opinion that future international exhibitions should be like those of 1851 and 1862. The arrangement in such cases should be to have pictures in special galleries, machinery together, and all objects in geographical groups arranged by the countries which send them. It is absurd to try and make each international exhibition bigger than its predecessor. A space of twenty acres is ample, and no space can be better than that in Hyde Park, used in 1851. But the building should not be a conservatory. Glass may be abundantly used, but not for walls, which should be of timber. Doubtless, prizes are attractive and exciting, although theoretically and philosophically indefensible. Let the exhibitors support them by sweepstakes, and manage themselves the administration of the awards. I hope this country, when it wants such exhibitions, will raise its own guarantee fund to support them, and not be indebted to public taxation, which paid nothing for the Great Exhibitions of 1851 and 1862," or, it may be added, for those of 1871 to 1874.

INTER-  
NATIONAL  
EXHIBI-  
TIONS.

A. D.  
1871-1874.  
Part I.

Future exhi-  
bitions in  
England  
should not  
increase in  
size,

and should  
not be sup-  
ported by  
public  
taxation.





## REFORM OF THE PATENT LAWS.

### PART I.

1848-1852.

#### I.

REFORM  
OF THE  
PATENT  
LAWS.  
A.D.  
1848-1852.  
Part I.



MY father's connection with the movement for the reform of the Patent Laws, during the years 1848 to 1852, was chiefly due to his having become acquainted with the advantages of registering designs. The Summerly Art Manufactures (pp. 178 to 194, Vol. II., Selections) were all made from "Registered Designs."

Board of  
Trade,  
School of  
Design and  
Patent  
Laws.

II. For the 24th June, 1848, I find an entry in his diary, "Discussed with Lefevre, Secretary to the Board of Trade, about being on School of Design, and about Patents;" and again, on the 14th August, "At Board of Trade—Lefevre—to speak about School of Design and Patent Improvement." A month later, namely, 6th September, he addressed a long letter to Sir Denis Le Marchant, which, with three Reports addressed to the Right Hon. H. Labouchere, M.P., were printed in the Appendix to the Report from the Select Committee on the School of Design, in 1849. His letter begins: "Having been invited by Mr. J. S. Lefevre, when Secretary of the Board of Trade, to make any suggestions for increasing the efficiency of Schools of Design, and to point



out any amendments necessary to be made in the laws for promoting useful design; and having been recently consulted by Earl Granville, and requested by his lordship to prepare a general statement of my views on the subject, I have now the honour to submit for the consideration of the Lords Committee of Privy Council of Trade and Plantations, some of the conclusions which I have been led to form." In the course of this letter he touches upon the operation of the Copyright Acts, the Registration Act for Ornamental Designs, the Registration Act for Articles of Utility, and the Grants of Patents, and concludes his observations on these points thus: "The great success which has attended the operation of this Act for Registering Designs of Utility (passed in 1843), the satisfaction it has given to the manufacturers, and the amount of revenue already obtained, point out the importance of extending its operation. This Act, in fact, has practically become the first step in the Amendment of the Patent Laws."

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OF THE  
PATENT  
LAWS.  
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1848-1852.  
Part I.

III. Early in 1849, on the 14th March, my father called the attention of the Council of the Society of Arts to the "legislative recognition of the rights of inventors," and certain "principles"<sup>1</sup> were enunciated and accepted by the Council. My father puts a note of satisfaction in his diary, that he "carried his resolution as to Tax on Invention against the Patent Agent feeling."

Society of  
Arts and  
legislative  
recognition  
of rights of  
inventors.

IV. On the 24th August, 1850, he had some talk with John Stuart Mill upon the subject of patents. "J. S.

Mill on  
Patents.

<sup>1</sup> "1. That Inventors, Designers, &c., ought not to be subjected to any other expenses than such as may be absolutely necessary to secure to them the Protection of their Inventions.

"2. That the difficulties and anomalies experienced in connection with Patent removed.

ent term of Copy-

right in Design for Articles of Manufacture, and the Protection afforded to the Authors and Proprietors of Inventions, and of Designs in Arts and Manufactures, are inadequate.

"4. That, for carrying out these objects, the co-operation of all Persons interested therein be invited."

REFORM  
OF THE  
PATENT  
LAWS.

A.D.  
1848-1852.  
Part I.

Appoint-  
ment of  
Committee  
by Society  
of Arts.

Preparation  
of treatise  
on Juris-  
prudence  
connected  
with Inven-  
tions.

Charles  
Dickens and  
the Patent  
Laws.

Mill was for patents as a right, not a favour; against perpetuity; against fees, except as paying the cost of management."<sup>1</sup>

V. The appointment by the Council of the Society of Arts of a committee to promote the "legislative recognition of the rights of inventors in arts, manufactures, and science, by easy registration on the principles already adopted by the Council, of 14th March, 1849," is dated 4th September, 1850, at which time the Council resolved, "That the offer to prepare a treatise on "Jurisprudence connected with Inventions, and a Summary of the opinions given before the House of Commons," be accepted, and that Mr. Cole be authorized to put the same into type, at an expense not exceeding £3."

VI. By the 30th September, this treatise was finished. Whilst it was in proof, Mr. Cole sought the support and assistance of different persons interested in the law of Patents, Copyright, and Registration, amongst whom was Charles Dickens. Failing to find him at his house at Broadstairs, he left a letter enclosing a copy of the treatise, and received the following reply:—

"Broadstairs, 25th September, 1850.

'MY DEAR SIR,

"I am truly sorry that I didn't see you when you called here. On the first day I was in London, on the second at Ramsgate. Your proof has greatly interested me. I shall be happy to 'join the Union,' and I am now at work on a paper for 'Household Words' which I hope may help the question in a taking manner. Faithfully yours,

"CHARLES DICKENS.

"Henry Cole, Esq."

The "Poor  
Man's Tale  
of a Patent."

VII. The paper Dickens here mentions, is, "A Poor Man's Tale of a Patent," which appeared in "Household Words,"

<sup>1</sup> Diary.



October 19, 1850. As may be seen, Dickens was inspired—as who would not be?—by the “thirty-five official stages so far as they can be made out, which an inventor must undergo in obtaining Letters Patent for an invention in England only, provided his application is unopposed.” The thirty-five stages were enumerated, probably for the first time on a single page, by my father in his treatise. Dickens agreed with his opinion on the matter, and concludes the “Poor Man’s Tale” thus:—“What I had to tell, I have told. I have wrote it down. I hope it’s plain. Not so much in the handwriting (though nothing to boast of there) as in the sense of it. I will now conclude with Thomas Joy. Thomas said to me, when we parted, ‘John, if the laws of this country were as honest as they ought to be, you would have come to London—registered an exact description and drawing of your invention—paid half-a-crown or so for doing of it, and therein and thereby have got your Patent.’ . . . . “My opinion is the same as Thomas Joy’s. Further. In William Butcher’s delivery ‘that the whole gang of Hanapers and Chaffwaxes must be done away with, and that England has been chaffed and waxed sufficient, I agree.’”

VII. Twelve days after the publication of the “Poor Man’s Tale,” my father reported the completion of his treatise to the Council of the Society of Arts, and requested that copies might be submitted for the consideration of the Council, and the Committee on Inventions.<sup>1</sup> The request was

REFORM  
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LAWS.  
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First Report  
by Society  
of Arts  
Committee.

<sup>1</sup> The Committee was composed of the following:—The Marquis of Northampton; the Earl of Radnor; Sir John P. Boileau, Bart.; Sir J. J. Guest, Bart., M.P.; the Right Hon. T. Milner Gibson, M.P.; Henry T. Hope, Esq., M.P.; Samuel M. Peto, Esq., M.P.; Sir James Anderson, Glasgow; George Brace, Esq.; Henry

Cole, Esq.; Charles Dickens, Esq.; J. H. Elliott, Esq.; John Farey, Esq.; P. Le Neve Foster, Esq., M.A.; Charles Fox, Esq.; Wyndham Harding, Esq., C.E.; Edward Highton, Esq.; Capt. Boscawen Ibbetson, F.R.S.; Owen Jones, Esq.; Herbert Minton, Esq., the Potteries; R. S. Newall, Esq., Gateshead; Richard

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PATENT  
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Second Re-  
port of  
Society of  
Arts Com-  
mittee.

xxx  
Lord Gran-  
ville and  
Patents.

acceded to, and the treatise adopted on the 2nd December formed the burden of the first Report of the Committee. At the present day, no little interest attaches to this Report, the formalities and expenses attendant upon the obtaining of a Patent having been but slightly modified since then. Extracts from it and the second Report of the Committee, are given in Vol. II., Selections, p. 274. The Council of the Society of Arts sent out this first Report to Cabinet Ministers and the Attorney and Solicitor-General, under cover of a letter dated 2nd December, 1850.

IX. Immediately after Christmas (on Boxing-day, in fact), the Committee was at work upon the heads of a Bill, and by the 15th January of the new year, 1851, the second Report of the Committee was framed, which includes the heads of the Bill just mentioned.

X. The question of protecting new inventions to be exhibited at the Great Exhibition, was under consideration at this time, and Lord Granville said that Government intended to protect inventions at the Exhibition, but had not yet determined anything about the revision of the Patent Laws. Two months later, whilst walking one Sunday through the Exhibition building, my father met Lord Granville, who told him that he intended to move for a Select Committee in the House of Lords, upon Patent Laws. The Select Committee was appointed, and on the 26th May my father was examined. With his evidence then taken,

Prosser, Esq., Birmingham; Dr. J. Forbes Royle; W. W. Rundell, Esq.; Falmouth; Archibald Slate, Esq., Woodside, Dudley; J. Jobson Smith, Esq., Sheffield; Professor Edward Solly, F.R.S.; Arthur Symonds, Esq.; Professor Bennet Woodcroft.

The points on which the Committee wished particularly to obtain information, were, 1st, the effect which the existing system of patents may have

had on suppressing, and thus depriving the public of the knowledge and use of the inventions of those who are unable to bear the heavy expenses required under it; and, 2nd, instances where the expenses have been fruitlessly incurred.

The Committee requested that any facts in any way bearing upon these points, might be forwarded to them.



are printed in the Appendix of the Report of that Committee, extracts from the Society of Arts first Report, and the headings adopted by them for a Bill.

XI. Later on in the year, a Special Committee was appointed by the Society of Arts, "to draw up a statement of the defects of the Patent Bill" which had been passed by the Lords during the session, and to urge the advantages of the Bill framed by the Society. Mr. Cole prepared the third and last Report of the Committee, and undertook the preparation of a Petition to Parliament "embodying the Society's Reports on Patents." In March, 1852, the Society of Arts resolved that a committee "should wait upon the members of Government who have charge of the Patent Reform Bill in both Houses of Parliament, in order to urge upon them the expediency of introducing into the Bill power for a provisional registration upon payment of a nominal fee to all persons who are prepared to make such specifications as were required by the Protection of Inventions Act, 1851, and to point out the great advantages which resulted from that Act."

XII. It is beyond the present purpose to endeavour to show what precise influence the action taken by the Society of Arts may have had upon the Patent Bill, which was passed during the session of 1852. That action now takes its place in historical order with similar efforts made to simplify Patent Law—efforts which are being continued at the present time. It was contemporary with expression of opinions by a number of individuals and associations interested in the subject. My father made a collection of many printed papers and pamphlets on Patents, issued from 1835 up to 1852. Within a few months of his death, he had taken part, as a member of a Special Committee appointed to consider the subject, in discussing a New Patent Bill proposed by the Society of Arts. A feature

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Action of  
Society of  
Arts after  
the Lords  
had passed  
a Bill on  
Patents.

Third Re-  
port of  
Society of  
Arts Com-  
mittee.

Society of  
Arts' new  
Patent Bill  
of 1851.

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OF THE  
PATENT  
LAWS.  
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Part I.

Mr. Justice  
Stephen on  
Patent Law.

of this Bill was the approach it made towards rendering British similar to American Patent Law. Whilst urging the necessity of simpler registration and reduction of fees, the Society of Arts Bill proposed the appointment of a tribunal of professional men, specialists, and others, who should supersede the existing law officers in dealing with questions as to Patents. On this point my father agreed with remarks made by Mr. Justice Stephen at a meeting held at the Society of Arts on the 2nd December, 1881, that it was not likely that the public would receive with favour the constitution of a separate Court to protect Patent rights. "It would resemble a Court of clergymen to deal with theological cases, which the public would not approve of. There was no branch of law which contained so many and such interesting principles as the law of Patents; and a chemist and an engineer could not be expected to understand the application of them. There was no analogy between the proposed tribunal and the Railway Commission, whose duties had nothing legal about them. Judges were specially trained in the art of acquiring information from others, and in applying legal principles to that information."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Report in "Times," December 3rd, 1881.







ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF  
PRACTICAL ART AND COMMENCEMENT  
OF THE SOUTH KENSINGTON  
MUSEUM.

PART I.

1851-1873.

I.



FROM the commencement of my father's connection with a State-aided system of instruction in Art for the United Kingdom, to the time of his retirement in 1873, the feeling which influenced him in his work may be summed up to have been, that voluntary enterprise in promoting instruction in art, should be fostered throughout the country. Pecuniary assistance granted by Parliament, should encourage its development and not supersede it. Co-operation between voluntary enterprise and Government assistance, was to be systematically encouraged. Permanence of character was to be looked for in the work growing out of this co-operation. Whilst the metropolis from its nature was felt to be the best *locale* for establishing a normal school for teachers, and a pattern museum

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MENT OF  
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SINGTON  
MUSEUM.

A.D.  
1851-1873.  
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State aid to  
instruction  
in Art.

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1851-1873.  
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for general instruction in art (two special organizations which should be initiated by Government), the system to diffuse a knowledge and appreciation of art was schemed upon the broad basis of co-operation. Its extension by voluntary effort throughout the country, should be as freely practicable as compliance with few official conditions of Government assistance could make it.

II. The following quotation, taken from the "Times" of the 7th October, 1876, is, I believe, generally correct in its sketch of certain incidents relating to the Schools of Design and their reform:—

"One hundred years ago, Adam Smith published his 'Wealth of Nations,' which contains the following remarkable passage:—

"'There is scarce a common trade, which does not afford some opportunities of applying to it the principles of geometry and mechanics, and which would not therefore gradually exercise and improve the common people in those principles, the necessary introduction to the most sublime as well as the most useful sciences.'

"Since then, until the period of the Reform Bill, when people placed notices in their windows, 'No more taxes paid until the Reform Bill is passed,' when the organization for educating the country consisted of a small body of clerks, directed by Dr. (now Sir) James Kay-Shuttleworth, at the Council Office at Whitehall; and when, indeed, but few politicians had seriously considered how the important influences of education could be extended to all classes of the community, no one had, so far as England was concerned, felt the truth of Adam Smith's warning, or the necessity for attempting to act on it. At length a time came when an inquiry into what other countries were doing in the matter of training their people in drawing, was considered a right thing for the Government to undertake. Urged by Mr. W. Ewart, M.P., the Board of Trade instructed Mr. Dyce, R.A., to visit, about the year 1839, the various drawing schools throughout Europe. His report was printed and laid before Parliament in the following year. But the view which he took of the modes of instruction is exemplified by his calling his report one on 'Schools of Design.'

Origin of  
Schools of  
Design and  
their existence up to  
1851.

15? x x x [

Mr Dyce's report



All the drawing schools in France were called 'Ecoles de Dessin,' which, as is well known, means 'Schools for Drawing,' and not necessarily 'Schools of Design.' However, the justification of the Board of Trade's inquiring into these schools, was that information as to 'design'—an important element in the commerce of fancy articles—was required in England. From these pseudo-economical views as to design, an impression that designers could suddenly be created seems to have arisen. In fact, it was taken for granted that all to be done was to start Schools of Design, and in them to train students to originate and apply decoration; and so efforts were put forth in this direction, and it was assumed that without, so to speak, manuring the country with elementary drawing power, well developed fruits could be obtained from it. The mode of training the country to improve itself and its trades by a cultivation of the arts, was misunderstood, and the key-note of the work to be done was not really struck until after the Exhibition of 1851. For about eleven years the Schools of Design had been leading a precarious existence. They had cost the country an average of about £10,000 a year for eleven years, and the Government really had no option but to take the work seriously in hand, and to relieve the irresponsible and unsuccessful Council of the Schools of Design of the burden of further operations."

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SINGTON  
MUSEUM.

A.D.  
1851-1873.  
Part I.

III. It was on the 31st October, 1851, then, that Lord Granville offered my father the secretaryship of the School of Design. At this time, there were twenty provincial Schools of Design, besides the two head metropolitan schools,—that for males at Somerset House, and that for females at Gower Street. The total Government grant for a year—1851—to the twenty schools, amounted to £7,500. These schools received £7,780 in students' fees and private subscriptions, so that the Government aid was equal to the sum of money voluntarily contributed by private individuals. In certain schools, however, this was not the case. For instance, to Belfast and Birmingham, Government contributed £600 each, but in neither town did the contribution of private individuals and students exceed £320.

Secretary-  
ship of  
School of  
Design  
offered to  
Mr. Cole.

Distribution  
of Govern-  
ment grants  
to Schools of  
Design.

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A.D.  
1851-1873.  
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Proposal as  
to elementary  
drawing.

Institute of  
Science and  
Art contemplated.

At Glasgow, however, the receipts from private sources were double the amount of the Parliamentary grant; whilst at Stourbridge, the students' fees and private subscriptions were five times the Parliamentary grant. The apportionment of Parliamentary aid appears to have been almost arbitrary,—one school with over 240 students, would receive the same amount of Government aid as a school with 108 students, whilst another school with 230 students, received more than double the Government grant given to either of the other two schools. The failure of the schools to fulfil the anticipations of those who started them, had been felt even earlier than 1848, when Mr. Cole addressed the first of his three letters to the Board of Trade upon the subject.<sup>1</sup> A wider field of operations, simpler in character, was required if the country generally, were to participate in the benefits of instruction in art. In November, 1851, my father told Lord Granville that he would propose to "divide the elementary drawing from the practice, and get rates to support the country schools."

IV. In sketching the growth of the organizations alluded to, it will be right, perhaps, to treat its two main divisions separately. The first of these will therefore be the development of the normal museum and school in London; the second, that of the local schools and classes of art, and subsequently, of science as well.

V. When the success of the Great Exhibition of 1851 had proclaimed itself, and there was a certain indication of a surplus profit, the Prince Consort and others discussed various plans for using the surplus in founding a school or college, a museum or institute of some sort, for improving public

<sup>1</sup> In 1846 Mr. R. Redgrave (one of the Professors at the School of Design) wrote a long letter to Lord John Russell on the necessity of re-constituting the schools. An inquiry

before a Committee of the Board of Trade followed; and this was succeeded by a Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1849.



instruction in science and art. A number of specimen works of art had from time to time been bought for the use of the Schools of Design, and had been dispersed amongst them. "A few specimens had been left in the Metropolitan School (at Somerset House), but little had been done towards forming a systematic collection of art manufactures."<sup>1</sup> "The Prince had objected to the Commission collecting examples for the Schools of Design."<sup>2</sup> After accepting office under the Board of Trade, to reform the system of art instruction throughout the country, "one of my first recommendations for immediate adoption," writes my father, "was the purchase of art objects from the Great Exhibition, especially from the Indian collection. Mr. G. Porter, the secretary to the Board, wholly objected to any purchases."<sup>3</sup> "Lord Granville," however, "authorized a selection of objects to be made for the School of Design,"<sup>3</sup> and the Treasury, having, it seems, at the instance of the Prince Consort, granted a sum of £5,000 for this purpose, a committee, consisting of Mr. Herbert, R.A. (of the School of Design), Mr. Redgrave, R.A., Mr. A. W. Pugin, Mr. Owen Jones, and Mr. Cole, was appointed shortly afterwards by Mr. Labouchere, President of the Board of Trade. The articles purchased on this occasion, are detailed in the annual report of the Department of Practical Art, 1852 (pp. 233 *et seq.*). In forming this collection, the Committee looked to its becoming the nucleus of a museum of art manufactures, which should have its connection throughout the whole country, and help to make the Schools of Art as practical in their working as those of France and Germany. To the report of this Committee, Mr. Cole added a postscript, explaining how the objects thus purchased were broadly classified under groups, such as,

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A.D.  
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Nucleus of  
a Museum  
of Art Manu-  
factures.

Purchase of  
art objects  
from Great  
Exhibition  
of 1851.

Grant from  
Treasury.

<sup>1</sup> Department of Practical Art, Report No. 1, 1852.

<sup>2</sup> Diary.

<sup>3</sup> Memorandum.

DEPARTMENT OF  
PRACTICAL  
ART AND  
SOUTH KENSINGTON  
MUSEUM.

A.D.  
1851-1873.  
Part I.

Necessity of  
accommodation for  
objects  
bought from  
Exhibition.

Difficulty in  
retaining use  
of Crystal  
Palace in  
Hyde Park.

Removal of  
collection  
to Marlborough  
House.

Opening of  
collections  
by H.M.  
the Queen.

Woven Fabrics, Metal, Ceramic or Pottery, Glass, Furniture, and that when sufficient space should be provided, a more minute subdivision would probably be desirable. The value of such classification of objects exhibited for instructional, as distinct from mere display purposes, asserted itself in the course of the organization of the Museum, and latterly, in the International Exhibitions of 1871 and 1874 (see p. 264).

VI. How the Central Government office, established to carry into operation the scheme of art instruction, came to be located at Marlborough House, will be shown by the following relation of incidents. The objects purchased from the Exhibition involved a provision of space for the new Department of Practical Art, as it was styled, other than that which might possibly have been found in the offices of the Board of Trade at Whitehall. As the Crystal Palace was not to be retained in Hyde Park, the objects bought for the Schools of Design had to be removed. The idea of using Marlborough House, then unoccupied, came to the fore at this juncture. Mr. Phillips, of the Office of Works, "saw no practical objection to occupying Marlborough House." "At the advice of Prince Albert, the Queen gave permission to use the upper floors of Marlborough House. Colonel Phipps, I believe, wrote to the Office of Works, and Mr. Phillips handed me the keys. I moved in with all speed, and when the rooms were all arranged, it was found out that the usual official formalities had not been followed, but were then carried out by the Board of Trade writing to the Office of Works, and obtaining the Queen's approval. I was upbraided with having taken possession with the full intention of using the palace."<sup>1</sup>

VII. "The collections of purchases from the Great Ex-

<sup>1</sup> Memoranda.



hibition were publicly exhibited there. The Queen came to the opening of them on the 17th May [1853], and offered to lend specimens of lace, for which I went to Buckingham Palace. Her Majesty had herself written the tickets for them. Later on, Her Majesty gave me permission to search Buckingham Palace for Sèvres china. Mr. John Webb assisted me, and we brought away Sèvres worth many thousands of pounds. No inventory of it could be found, and I took away many pieces, each now worth £1,000, from housemaids' closets in bedrooms. The exhibition of this china made a great sensation, and led afterwards to its being properly arranged in Buckingham Palace, and an inventory made."<sup>1</sup>

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PRACTICAL  
ART AND  
SOUTH KEN-  
SINGTON  
MUSEUM.

A.D.  
1851-1873.  
Part I.

Loans by  
H.M. the  
Queen.

VIII. A small portion of the Museum was fitted up with specimens of all kinds of manufactures, carpets, paperhangings, silks, metals, glass, pottery, &c., which appeared to illustrate departures from those principles of art which are recognized in the department. The first report of the Department of Practical Art records (p. 33) how everyone might, by this section, be led at once to investigate the ornamental principles of his carpet and furniture, and the greatest benefit to manufacturers was looked for from the investigation. An amusing article, entitled a "House full of Horrors," appeared in "Household Words," of December, 1852, then conducted by Charles Dickens. Mr. Crumpet, a gentleman residing at Clump Lodge, Brixton, had always been happy. Mrs. Crumpet was in the habit of remarking upon his return from the city, that "his cheerfulness was like a bird at tea." But Mr. Crumpet paid a visit to the Department of Practical Art in Marlborough House. He "acquired some correct principles of taste," and became "haunted by the most horrid shapes." "I could have cried, sir. I was ashamed of the pattern of my own trousers, for I

Museum of  
"false prin-  
ciples."

<sup>1</sup> Memoranda.

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Principles of  
taste.

Report of  
first year's  
working of  
Museum at  
Marlborough  
House.

saw a piece of them hung up there as a horror. I dared not pull out my pocket-handkerchief while anyone was by, lest I should be seen dabbling the perspiration from my forehead with a wreath of coral. I saw it all; when I went home I found that I had been living among horrors up to that hour. The paper in my parlour contains four kinds of birds of paradise, besides bridges and pagodas." This illustration of "false principles" was no doubt a practical outcome of opinions such as those elicited from Mr. Cole before a Select Committee of the House of Commons. On the 10th May, 1849, when told by a member of the Committee, "We have a proverb about doctors, and I think experience shows that doctors in taste differ as much as doctors in medicine," he said, "I do not agree in that. I think to act upon the principle of 'every one to his taste,' would be as mischievous as 'every one to his morals;'" and I think there are principles in taste which all eminent artists are agreed upon in all parts of the world." A few years' experience of the special exhibition of "false principles," proved the discretion of withdrawing the collection as such, and of encouraging a public perception of "false principles" by a less pungent process. In fact, the makers of the "horrors" raised an outcry against the stigma officially placed upon their goods.

IX. Mr. Cole's report upon the first year's working of the Museum at Marlborough House, concludes thus, "It is hoped that this Museum may be made the means of originating and fostering similar institutions throughout the country. The Board of Trade has sanctioned arrangements by which local schools of art may not only borrow articles from the Museum, in each year, during the period between the 15th July and the 15th September, for exhibition in their own localities, but may also have the opportunity of purchasing any duplicates, or superfluous quantities, at half the original



cost of them to the Department. By these means, the whole country is made to participate in the advantages and prosperity of the central Museum, and its benefits are not limited to residents in the metropolis."<sup>1</sup>

X. The growth of the Museum from year to year, is shown in detail in the series of annual reports presented to Parliament. Grants were made by Parliament for purchasing specimens of artistic manufactures of all ages. In addition, objects were lent for display by H.M. the Queen, H.R.H. Prince Albert, and a number of collectors and possessors of such articles. In 1853, £1,705 were spent in purchases, and the "ceramic division" was enriched by the acquirement of 717 specimens, collected by the late Mr. Bandinel of the Foreign Office, and purchased of Dr. Page.

XI. An unique loan collection of furniture was made and exhibited in May, 1853, by the permission of the Commissioners of the Exhibition of 1851, at Gore House,<sup>2</sup> which stood upon the northern end of the estate purchased by the Commissioners with the surplus funds from the Great Exhibition. The annual exhibition of the works of students in the art schools, was also held here in 1853. "Mulready lent his studies of the nude, which were arranged in a separate room by themselves. The Queen, Prince Albert, and the

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Development of Museum.

Purchase in 1853 of Bandinel collection.

Exhibition of furniture at Gore House.

<sup>1</sup> Department of Practical Art, Report No. 1, 1852.

<sup>2</sup> Gore House was inhabited by Lady Blessington, and was a rendezvous for a number of distinguished and well-known persons. The Emperor Napoleon III., when in England, used to meet Count D'Orsay here. He afterwards gave the Count some post connected with the Fine Arts in Paris. Gore House was used by Soyer for dinners during the Exhibition of 1851. William Wilberforce inhabited a house in Kensington, where he settled in 1808. "The

garden with its lilacs, its laburnums, its nightingales, its martins, and its swallows was his delight."—*Life*, p. 310. He sat reading and writing "under a special walnut tree, which was known in his family as his study." He died in London, 29th July, 1833, at three a.m., aged seventy-three years and eleven months. Wilberforce's house would appear to have been next door westward of Gore House, and Count D'Orsay lived next door eastward of Gore House. (See also note on p. 185, Vol. II.)

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H.M. the  
Queen and  
Mulready's  
chalk draw-  
ings from  
the figure.

Commence-  
ment of  
system of  
loan exhi-  
bitions.

Princess Royal came on the 30th May. Mr. Cardwell and Sir Charles Eastlake received them. Before the Queen's arrival, Mr. Cardwell went round the Exhibition with Redgrave. He went into the Mulready Room, and was greatly shocked at the display of nudity, and enjoined upon Redgrave not to take the Queen into the room. The Royal party arrived and went round the rooms. The Queen wandered away with me, and came to the Mulready Room, and Her Majesty opened the door and entered. She exclaimed, 'What fine works!' and told me to fetch the Prince and Princess to see them. Mr. Cardwell of course came, and had to submit to a long examination of these drawings, the Queen making frequent exclamations of admiration. She commissioned Sir Charles Eastlake to find out if Mulready would part with any. His answer was, 'that he had never sold any, and had not made up his mind if he ever should, but if Her Majesty would accept one, he would present it. He could not give the Queen a choice, because he had offered the first choice to some one else.' So at last Eastlake selected one, which H. M. accepted, and sent Mulready her thanks and a silver inkstand. Mulready told me of his satisfaction at the incident, because he had refused to make a copy of the 'Wedding Gown' for the Prince. He considered 'a copy' unworthy of the Prince's collection, and he was offended at the Prince's asking him, which the Prince never forgot, and named to me."<sup>1</sup>

XII. Returning to the Loan Exhibition of Furniture at Gore House, which was the first of a series of similar exhibitions held in connection with the Museum,<sup>2</sup> it may be noted that a system of making photographs, casts, and

<sup>1</sup> Memoranda.

contributed annually for public instruction.

<sup>2</sup> 1853. Exhibition of Cabinet Work.

In 1862, a Special Loan Exhibition was organized; it contained for the

From 1853 to 1861. Loans were



electrotype copies of fine objects which thus came temporarily into the Museum's possession, was commenced. By this means, the Department obtained additions of high instructive value for its Museum. This system of reproductions has since proved of great importance in the development of certain divisions of the Museum. It appears likely to be of great benefit to local museums throughout the country. They, probably less than the normal National Collection, may not be in a position to acquire original objects. For instruction a careful facsimile is as good as an original. The Convention to promote the making of reproductions of objects of art, is alluded to elsewhere. (See page 261.)

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System of reproductions inaugurated. Its value for instructional purposes.

XIII. The Parliamentary votes for the Museum, enabling the Department to make purchases of works of art, may be gathered from the yearly estimates laid before the House of Commons. Amongst my father's memoranda are the following, which relate to the early acquisition of important collections:—"Mr. Bernal, Chairman of Committees in the Commons, made an extensive collection of *objets d'art*, which he had purchased over several years for about £20,000. It was a most desirable purchase for the nation, and Colonel Sandham, his executor and son-in-law, wrote me a letter offering it for £50,000, and I was to give an answer in ten days from the 15th January. I consulted the Prince, who was favourable to the purchase. Lord Granville, too, advocated it. A meeting of the Commission of '51 was held on 8th February; Mr. Disraeli in favour, Mr. Gladstone for and against the purchase. The Government

Parliamentary votes for purchases.

Purchase of Bernal collection.

most part, all the objects of mediæval art which were exhibited at the Society of Arts in 1859.

1865. Loan Exhibition of Miniatures.

1866 to 1868. Three annual Loan Exhibitions of National Portraits.

1870. Loan Exhibition of Fans.

1872. Loan Exhibition of Jewellery and Loan Exhibition of Musical Instruments.

1873. Loan Exhibition of Decorative Art Needlework.

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agreed to spend £20,000. The Science and Art Department to spend £12,000 under conditions, and the British Museum, I think, £8,000. Mr. Gladstone imposed the condition that the Department was to price every object and not to exceed the price named; and if there was any balance on the purchases, it was to be paid back, and not to be used in securing desirable objects which fetched more than the price named. The result was that a few of the very finest objects were lost. Mr. Bernal Osborne, Mr. Bernal's son, told me that the refusal to purchase the whole had given him £12,000 more than was originally expected, as the collection fetched £62,600."

Purchase of  
Soulages  
collection.

XIV. The following is my father's account of how the Soulages collection was obtained for the nation.

"This collection consisted chiefly of very fine objects of Italian art—in pottery (*majolica*), wood carving, bronzes—together with some pictures, and various objects of French origin.

"The objects are fully described in a catalogue which the trustees of the Soulages collection caused to be compiled and published.

Soulages  
collection.

"The collection takes its name from M. Soulages, an advocate at Toulouse, who spent years in making it. Its existence was brought to the knowledge of Mr. Herbert Minton, of Stoke-on-Trent, by Mr. Arnoux, who had been a pottery manufacturer at Toulouse, and who subsequently entered Mr. Minton's service and for many years directed the Fine Art branch of his works.

"Mr. Minton showed me some photographs of the collection at Paris in 1855, when I was Commissioner for the British Section of the Paris Exhibition.

"On the 4th October, 1855, I went to Toulouse to inspect the collection, taking Thurston Thompson<sup>1</sup> with me, and

<sup>1</sup> Second son of the late Mr. John Thompson, the well-known wood en-



we examined it carefully for two days. I formed the conclusion that it was my duty to effect the purchase if possible for the nation, and that it would be of great use to manufacturers. On my return to England, I endeavoured to create a general interest for purchasing the collection, and met with many objections and difficulties. Even R. Redgrave, my colleague, objected to buying it. At last I obtained Prince Albert's approval to making an attempt. The Prince consented to guarantee £1,000 towards buying it, Mr. E. Marjoribanks to sign the guarantee (5th May, 1856). It was arranged that Mr. John Webb should proceed to Toulouse to make an inventory, and put a value on each object separately, which he did. His valuation is printed with the catalogue, and it amounted to £11,782. A guarantee fund was then formed and signed for £24,800. The deed is printed at p. ix. of the catalogue.

"Mr. Webb negotiated the purchase of the collection with M. Soulages for £11,000, agreeing that £3,000 should be paid on deposit and the balance by a bill payable in three years. The expenses of freight, insurance, agency, &c., amounted to about £1,944, which, with £556 for catalogue, law charges, clerical assistance, &c., made the total cost £13,500. The full details of all these items are printed in the catalogue. It was in August, 1856, that Mr. Webb started to bring the collection to this country. Messrs. Coutts agreed to advance £3,000, and Mr. Webb took that sum with him, and paid it as a deposit on account. M. Soulages agreed to accept my sole promissory note for the balance of £8,000. I alone signed it, because the two other trustees were abroad, and it was necessary to conclude the business to obtain possession of the collection.

"The collection arrived safely in England on the 30th graver, and for many years connected with the South Kensington Museum as official photographer,

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Negotiation  
for purchase  
of collection.

Money advanced by  
Messrs.  
Coutts.

Soulages collection  
shown at  
Marlborough  
House.

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Lord Pal-  
merston's  
appreciation  
of Italian  
majolica.

Treasury re-  
fuse to buy  
collection.

Manchester  
and Soulages  
collection.

October, 1856. It was arranged at Marlborough House, catalogued and opened to the public in December, 1856. In December it was inspected by Lord Palmerston and Mr. James Wilson, then Secretary of the Treasury. I went round the objects with them. Lord Palmerston had no sympathy with mediæval Italian art. His feeling was altogether for classical art. Once or twice looking at the *majolica*, he said to me, 'What is the use of such rubbish to our manufacturers?' So the Treasury declined to buy it!

"According to the trust deed, the collection, if not bought by the State, was to be sold by the trustees.

"At this time Manchester was organizing its Art Treasures Exhibition, and the executive committee desired to have the loan of the Soulages objects. The trustees of the collection had no powers to grant a loan of it, but could sell it under conditions. It was sold accordingly to the Manchester executive. If the Art Treasures Exhibition yielded a balance, it was to be applied to the purchase of the collection to found an art museum in Manchester; if not, it was to be sold by auction, the trustees and the Manchester committee having joint and equal rights of purchase at the sale. The Manchester committee paid the sum of £13,500, which had been advanced to them by their bankers at four per cent. interest. When the money was received from them, M. Soulages was asked to give up the promissory note for £8,000, and receive payment with the interest, but he declined, saying that 'he preferred to hold the promissory note of an Englishman to any other security.' Remonstrances were made to him, but without effect. Then it was shown to him that my death before the payment of the bill might make payment difficult, so at last he was persuaded to take the money! Another application was made by the Department to the Treasury for permission to buy the collection for the nation, the trustees



having the reversion of collection whilst Manchester was in possession, but the Treasury refused. At this juncture a sale by auction in Manchester seemed inevitable. The ministry resigned, however, and Lord Derby came into power with the Marquis of Salisbury<sup>1</sup> as Lord President. A third application was made to the Treasury, and again there came a refusal.

"Fortunately, a regulation sanctioned by the Treasury existed, which enabled the apparently insuperable difficulty to be overcome. The Department was accustomed to hire objects and pay a rental on their value according to a minute passed by Mr. Henley, when President of the Board of Trade in 1852. The Manchester Art Treasures executive were requested to lend the collection on the condition of receiving a rental for it, and of giving the Department power of purchasing objects from the collection annually, according to the state of the votes, until the whole was purchased. This request was accepted, and the Marquis of Salisbury cordially sanctioned the arrangement, himself writing out the minute approving it. The purchases began at once, and continued to be made yearly to the extent of about £2,000 a-year. A return to Parliament of the correspondence was moved by Lord Elcho, and showed the proceeding. On its appearance the Treasury remonstrated at the purchase, and upbraided the Department for acting not only without sanction, but actually incurring debt. Mr. Lowe was Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education at the time, and drafted a letter which showed that this was an error, that no debt had been incurred by the Department, that rental was not interest, and that the entire transaction accorded with the ordinary practice of the Department.

"Thus the nation acquired possession of a collection of

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Continued  
refusal of  
Treasury to  
buy Soulages  
collection.

Soulages  
collection  
hired by  
South Kensington  
Museum.

Commence-  
ment of pur-  
chase in por-  
tions of Sou-  
lages collec-  
tion.

<sup>1</sup> The late Lord, second Marquis.

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Organization  
of Department  
of Practical  
Art.

mediæval art of the greatest value to manufacturers, which in the course of the quarter of a century, has influenced pottery and furniture to a great and perceptible extent. It has proved a most profitable investment, and if it were sold now would realize much more than the money paid for it."

XV. The commencement of the Department's purchase of the Soulages collection, and the removal of the Department from Marlborough House to South Kensington, are nearly coincident in date. Before relating how the premises at South Kensington came to be provided, it is perhaps desirable to recur to the development of the organization of schools and classes for instruction in science and art, in the metropolis and throughout the country.

XVI. As a leading member of the committee charged by the Board of Trade to make purchases of works of ornamental art from the Exhibition of 1851, Mr. Cole was frequently brought into contact with the President of the Board, Mr. Labouchere, who, *ex officio* was Chairman of the Committee of Management of the Schools of Design under the Board of Trade. From the 21st of October, 1851, to the 14th of January, 1852, nothing definite appears to have been done towards appointing Mr. Cole to the administration of the Schools. They were still, as Mr. Labouchere had written some time previously to Mr. Charles Buller, "in extremis." On the 14th January, 1852, "walked with Mr. Labouchere to see the House of Commons, and to the Board of Trade. Authorized me to learn if Hunt and Roskell would agree to let the School have the use of the shield<sup>1</sup> at a rental.

<sup>1</sup> A metal shield by Vechte, recommended for purchase at £2,000. "Sir R. Westmacott, who was asked, disliked the art of it. It was a work of *repoussé*, a process to which he was rather a stranger. Mr. Henley (successor to Mr. Labouchere at the Board of Trade) opposed the pur-

chase because of the risk of custody, and then because the value of the metal used was so little! Finally it was purchased, after having been exhibited to the public, and opinions ascertained in favour of its purchase." (Mem. by H. C.)



Asked me to undertake the management of the School of Design—was convinced that there ought to be defined responsibility—that the Royal Academicians (members of the Committee of Management, and also professors in the School) did not attend. I objected to conducting the business through the Secretaries (of the Board of Trade), which he agreed to. He was particularly friendly, and spoke as if on an equality.”<sup>1</sup> The next day Mr. Cole wrote to Mr. Labouchere:—

“1, Terrace, Kensington,

15 Jan., 1852.

“MY DEAR SIR,

“Having thought over your remarks of yesterday on the School of Design, I venture to submit a few points for your consideration.

“I. In the present undefined state of duties in the School, and the imperfect performance of them, it must certainly be expected that, for a time, at least, any changes would provoke resistance and antagonism. Those who had been accustomed to take an independent course would naturally object to stricter rules, and every one would, more or less, assume that his position was uncomfortably affected. Any one, therefore, who should be charged with the responsibility of superintendence, to have a chance of ultimate success, would require all the confidence and moral support which the Board of Trade could give him. There would probably be some voluntary resignations. Even with the greatest success and the exercise of the greatest circumspection and patience, no very marked results could be hoped for at an early period, and I think at least two years would be required for a fair trial.

“II. In respect of the best way of re-organizing the management, my opinion is that a Department of the Board of Trade should be created, analogous to the Naval and Railway Departments, having a special secretary, through whom all the business should pass for the decision of the President or Vice-President. I submit, that, on the whole, this arrangement would best insure undivided responsibility and attention, and would work better than any special board consisting of several persons. If such a

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Letter to  
Mr. Labouchere.

<sup>1</sup> Diary.

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change were made, I would venture to suggest that the name of the 'School of Design,' which is subject to misinterpretation, should be altered to one more nearly expressive of the objects in view. Such a name as the 'Department of Practical Art' would, I think, be well understood and appropriate. This would embrace the three distinct divisions of work which has to be performed, and each of which appears to require more or less of a separate direction.

- (a) Elementary instruction in Drawing and Modelling—a branch which is likely to extend very much.
- (b) Practice of Art connected with processes—a branch which is a great *desideratum*.
- (c) Cultivation of the power of designing—a branch that requires to be made precise and systematized.

"III. It ought not to be concealed that changes to render the School more effective, and enlarge its scope, would, I think, necessarily entail some increased expense; but in case my services were transferred from the Public Record Office, I have reason to believe that my post there would not be filled up—so that £500 a year would be saved in that part of the public service. I think I explained to you that this sum for many years has not been nearly my whole income, having been permitted to hold other appointments simultaneously; such as one at the Treasury to assist in introducing Penny Postage, &c., and that if I were appointed, I should prefer that an opportunity should be afforded me of proving the character and extent of my services, before any salary was fixed for them.

"I have the honour to be,

"My dear Sir,

"Your very faithful servant,

"HENRY COLE."

XVII. On the 26th of January, "Saw Mr. Labouchere by appointment at Board of Trade. The Chancellor of the Exchequer and he had agreed to enlarge the School of Design and change its name. The first thing was to improve the management. He would put the charge of (the School) into two hands, one artist, one layman—the last to be the manager. I rather objected, but he said this ought



to be at beginning, and changes might be made afterwards. The only work with the Secretary of the Board of Trade would be to check the accounts. Salary for artist £300, for layman £1,000. Offered to me—was an experiment." The proposal was formally submitted to the Treasury on 29th of January, and sanctioned on 31st of January. Mr. R. Redgrave, R.A.,<sup>1</sup> was the artist appointed to work with my father, and estimates of expenditure to be submitted to Parliament, in respect of the new Department of Practical Art were prepared forthwith. Mr. Cole framed a memorandum to explain what the new department should do, and this was nearly completed when the ministers went out of office, and Mr. Henley succeeded Mr. Labouchere as President of the Board of Trade. Mr. Henley paid his first official visit to that department on the 27th of February. The permanent officials of the Board of Trade had not regarded Mr. Cole's appointment with pleasure. He had invited them to read his memorandum, but, turning a cold shoulder upon him, they declined to do so. His friend, Sir Charles Trevelyan (then Secretary to the Treasury), however, read it "with much pleasure;" and he was fortunate, too, in obtaining the criticisms of Sir Stafford Northcote, Lord Granville, and His Royal Highness the Prince Consort upon it. At length, addressed as a letter to the Right Hon. J. W. Henley, by "Henry Cole" and "Richard Redgrave," it was finally published. In it the "three principal objects constituting the business of the new department" were stated, and were generally in accord with those suggested in my father's letter to Mr. Labouchere of 15th January, above quoted. The new department's work was divided into two broad divisions, the one affecting elementary instruction in drawing and modelling, the other affecting advanced instruction, and its special bearing upon ornamental art.

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of Depart-  
ment of  
Practical  
Art.  
Appoint-  
ment of Mr.  
R. Red-  
grave, R.A.,  
and of Mr.  
Cole, to De-  
partment of  
Practical  
Art.

Elementary  
and ad-  
vanced in-  
struction in  
art.

<sup>1</sup> See note on page 282.

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Chief School  
of Design at  
Somerset  
House.

XIX. As already mentioned, Schools of Design, subsidized by Parliament, existed in various parts of the country. The head school was at Somerset House, where it had been established since 1836, and, as early as 1842, attempts had been made to hold in it classes "for the study of the various processes of manufacture, and the practice of design for individual branches of industry." A loom had been erected, and even a kiln for baking pottery constructed, but the classes failed. The special character of instruction in ornamental art, became submerged in a general artistic curriculum, and the result was that the schools produced no decided impression on decorative manufactures. This, perhaps, was not surprising when it came to be discovered that candidates for masterships in the Schools for Design "sought their appointments by the usual means. An unsuccessful artist or drawing master submitted testimonials from persons having parliamentary or other interest with the Government; no proof was required that the candidate could teach a class or possessed the special requisites for conducting a school. The specimens of his work which the candidate submitted, often proved that he was unable to execute the standard examples used in the Schools of Design, and that he was scarcely acquainted with the system of instruction. At one period so many masterships were held by persons afflicted by some bodily infirmity, that a regulation became necessary, and was passed, by which lame or deformed candidates were declared ineligible. The working of this plan proved that all candidates who brought the strongest parliamentary patronage turned out the worst."

Re-organization of  
chief School  
of Design.

XX. Improved teaching power was obviously necessary. Special classes for advanced instruction were constituted under a new body of instructors at Marlborough House, and the school was organized to provide for—



- I. The training of Schoolmasters and Mistresses and Pupil-Teachers, who should teach Elementary Drawing.
- II. The training of Masters for the Schools of Art in the country.
- III. Training of Students in Technical Arts and generally advanced instruction.

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In 1853, Somerset House being required for other purposes, the old School of Design was closed, and the "Normal Training School of Art," in its various divisions, was opened at Marlborough House. Considerable provision was made at the time, for "Technical Instruction in Art." Professor G. Semper instructed a class of students in Practical Construction, Architecture, and Plastic Decoration, which included metal working, furniture designing, &c. Mr. Octavius Hudson gave instruction in Surface Decoration, and the manufacture and decoration of Textiles, including weaving and printing. There were classes for Wood Engraving, under Mr. John Thompson, for Lithography, under Miss Channon, for Porcelain Painting, under Mr. Simpson.

Technical  
instruction  
in art.

XXI. Whilst the arrangements for starting these technical classes were in progress, the Secretary of the Board of Trade occasionally interposed his opinion. Thus, when a class for architectural details and practical construction was proposed, the Secretary considered it would be "a decided departure from the object of the Schools of Design, which were established for the instruction of persons, not in the construction, but in the ornamenting of buildings (*inter alia*). To this Mr. Cole put a note that ornament "ought to be based on construction." Then the Secretary, proposing that no outsiders should be allowed to attend these classes, wrote, "I cannot think that Parliament ever contemplated the giving of instruction to carpenters, joiners,

Obstructive-  
ness of  
officials at  
Board of  
Trade.

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Mr. Henley's  
support.

Normal  
Training  
School for  
Art.

and masons." A scale of graduated fees, to be paid by public or outside students, was suggested by Mr. Cole, and objected to by the Secretary. "I said the public would win in coming to the school if it wanted to." "D—the public," said the Secretary. There was a good deal of internal official obstruction, which drove my father to ignore the Secretary. "Saw Mr. Henley, who regretted there should be any hitch." "He took great interest in the work, and was cordial with me, supporting my recommendations."<sup>1</sup> Mr. Henley wished everything to be as clear and beyond question as possible. "Do everything," he said, "as though you posted it up at Charing Cross."<sup>2</sup>

The various re-organizations proposed by Mr. Cole being approved, the Secretary ceased to offer criticisms. Any detailed description of the Normal Training School for Art at Marlborough House, with its branch class for Elementary Drawing at the Literary and Scientific Institute, Great Smith Street, Westminster, and the Metropolitan School for Females at Gower Street, is beyond the present purpose. Stages of instruction—Grouping of subjects to be passed by candidates for Teachers' Certificates—Standards of Examinations—National Competition of Art Students throughout the United Kingdom, and an Annual Exhibition of selected works by Art Students, &c.—matters in which professional advice was indispensable, were arranged chiefly in concert with Mr. Redgrave, R.A., the assistance of Royal Academicians and others of recognized authority being also obtained. Scholarships, medals, and prizes were offered to stimulate the exertions of individual students. The incidents connected with all these details affecting the

<sup>1</sup> Diary.

<sup>2</sup> In the spirit of relations between Alexander Pope and Harley:—

"As once a week we travel down  
To Windsor and again to Town,

Where all that passes *inter nos*  
Might be proclaimed at Charing  
Cross."



Central Training School and the local Schools of Art, are very numerous, and are set forth with amplitude in the Annual Reports of the Department of Science and Art.

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One incident in connection with the practical purposes of the Central School in its infancy, may be worth mentioning. The students of the technical classes for metal working, porcelain painting, and designing for textiles, had an early occasion for testing their abilities in the designing and carrying out ornamental details for the funeral car of the late Duke of Wellington. Various comments were passed upon the work when produced, but the practical lessons derived by the students were of value, unready as the students may have been to respond to so early a call upon their slightly trained abilities.

Duke of  
Wellington's funeral  
car.

XXII. The development of the scheme for "Elementary Instruction in Form and Colour as part of National Education," must now be referred to. The comparatively few Schools of Design had, at first, been thought to be the best centres from which operations connected with teaching children to draw, should radiate; but the use of these centres by masters and teachers of National and other parochial schools for children, was altogether optional. Managers of schools were not specially induced to take advantage of the opportunities so offered, for providing the children under their charge with instruction in drawing. Certain drawing copies and other examples scarcely applicable to very elementary instruction, had been gratuitously distributed from the central School of Design, according to the discretion of the master of the local School of Design, amongst the parochial schools of his district, but no guarantees secured that they were made use of. Only a superficial interest in drawing manifested itself. As a first step towards reform in this matter, Mr. Redgrave formed a series of drawing copies and examples, graded

Scheme for  
elementary  
instruction  
in art.

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according to the character of tuition for which they should be employed. The Board of Trade then passed a minute by which all public schools throughout the United Kingdom should be privileged to buy specimens at half cost, and any school willing to subscribe £1 became entitled to purchase £2 worth of prescribed drawing examples. Numerous applications at once came in from parochial schools. The next step to be taken was to provide the parochial schools with competent teachers of Drawing, and the regular masters of such schools were accordingly encouraged to qualify themselves in this respect. The Committee of Council on Education co-operated with the Board of Trade, and circulated a minute that "evidence of a certain proficiency in drawing should be afforded by each student, on account of whose examination the Training Schools" (for parochial elementary school teachers) "receive a grant."

Conditions  
of Depart-  
ment's assis-  
tance in start-  
ing elemen-  
tary classes.

XXIII. In the meantime, it was officially announced that, with the view of establishing elementary classes or schools for Drawing and Modelling, the Department of Practical Art would "(1) appoint a competent master and guarantee the payment to him of a certain income for a limited period, in case the fees paid by the scholars should not suffice to pay the master's salary; (2) assist in furnishing suitable drawing copies, models, &c.; (3) supply samples of materials, such as drawing boards, pencils, &c., and give information to enable managers and scholars to obtain these materials in the readiest way." The conditions under which this assistance was to be given, were that voluntary committees should be formed, or that some responsible person in each locality should come forward, who should engage to give effect to the following regulations:—

"(a) That these public schools where drawing was to be taught should be named.



"(b) That one hour's lesson in drawing a-week should be given.

"(c) That £5 a-year be paid towards expenses."

If a district school for drawing (something more than a mere class for elementary drawing in the parish school) were wanted, then the voluntary committee of the district was to provide a suitable room at their own expense, and a guarantee was to be given that not less than twenty students would attend for at least three months, and that each scholar should pay 6*d.* a week for instruction. A means of co-operation between the Department and voluntary agencies throughout the country, was thus organized. Examinations by departmental inspectors were held. Small prizes were offered to the scholars in elementary drawing schools, and a stimulus was given to the growth of the system by the payment, to the drawing-master who had instructed the scholars, of a shilling per prize gained. By 1856, 22,746 children were being taught elementary drawing, and some 1,231 teachers and pupil-teachers in parochial schools, had qualified themselves as teachers of elementary drawing.

XXIV. As the numbers under instruction became greater, so it became evident that the conditions required change. For instance, instead of guaranteeing salaries to drawing-masters, and taking a responsibility for work which would be likely to grow out of central control as schools increased, the Department gradually devised the scheme by which the results of instruction should be directly paid for, to the voluntary committees, managers, and others. Such payments would be a check upon the work fulfilled, and supply the means to committees and managers, of paying for the services of teachers of drawing according to the particular requirements of each locality. Payments on results of instruction in drawing virtually commenced in 1856, and a statement showing the promising development

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Prizes  
offered.

Payments  
on results  
developed.

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Select Com-  
mittee of  
House of  
Commons  
upon  
Schools of  
Art.

of work during four years under the system, was published in 1861, when it was thought that it might be useful and interesting to those who advocated its applicability "to general education."<sup>1</sup>

XXV. In 1863 (24th February), minutes were passed by Lord Granville and Mr. Lowe, the Lord President and Vice-President at the time, ratifying the system of payments on results tested by public examination, and limiting the payments to the results shown in respect of "artisans, children of the labouring poor, persons in training as art teachers, or employed as designers for manufacturers." The public wish for freedom to co-operate with the Department in diffusing instruction in drawing, painting, and designing for manufactures, &c., displayed itself through a Select Committee of the House of Commons, appointed in 1864 to inquire into the working of the Schools of Art. But in the draft of a minute dealing with the Report of this Select Committee, my father called attention to the fact that the resolutions of the Select Committee contained "various recommendations relating to the National Art Training School, the Museum at South Kensington, and the local Schools of Art, but offered none respecting elementary instruction in drawing given in schools for the children of the labouring poor, or to the master and pupil-teachers of such schools, or to adults taught in night classes, which instruction, it should be borne in mind, is of the first importance, and may be imparted independently of special institutions constituted as Schools of Art." A result, therefore of the Select Committee's report, and the Department's consideration of it, was to procure for the country a still greater freedom in availing itself of means of instruction in

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Cole drew up a Memorandum on the objections made by Sir James P. Kay-Shuttleworth, Bart., to "A

System of Public Grants on the Results of School Work," in 1861 (15th May).



drawing, &c. The thirty-six Schools of Design which existed in 1852, had by this time grown to ninety-one Schools of Art, whilst the 5,600 children taught elementary drawing, had risen to 94,083. Besides payments for aiding instruction, grants towards building Schools of Art were made. Provision was also made for the establishment of a series of classes intermediate as it were, between the Schools of Art and the elementary drawing classes, in parish and National Schools, and a new schedule of the assistance offered by Government through the Department to voluntary enterprise in promoting instruction in Art, was published in a minute of the Lords of the Committee of Council on Education, dated 1st June, 1865. Nine night classes for instruction in drawing were established soon after the passing of this minute, and in 1873, there were 613 of such classes. The total number of art students throughout the country, including children taught drawing at elementary schools, was 290,176.

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Night  
classes  
established.

XXVI. The remainder of this brief summary must be devoted to some account of the development of the science branch of the Department. At the commencement, as will be remembered, the Department was one for Practical Art and under the Board of Trade. "At the end of the parliamentary session in 1852, Lord Derby introduced science and art into the Queen's Speech."<sup>1</sup> The institution of the Department of Practical Art having proved to be successful, "the Prince Consort wished that science should be promoted, and consulted Playfair, who told me on the 21st January, 1853, that the Department was to be called 'Science and Art;' we were to be joint secretaries; I the senior, and science to take precedence of art in the name."<sup>1</sup> "The Royal Dublin Society, the School of Mines, the Geological Survey, the Geological Museum in Jermyn Street, the Industrial Museums of Ireland and

Formation  
of the  
science  
division of  
the Depart-  
ment.

Change of  
name to  
Department  
of Science  
and Art.  
Mr. Cole  
and Dr.  
Playfair to  
be joint  
secretaries.

<sup>1</sup> Diary.

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Schools of  
Science  
started.

Navigation  
schools.

Mining  
schools.

Central  
School of  
Science in  
Jermyn  
Street.

Scotland, were united with the Department of Practical Art to form the Department of Science and Art under a single parliamentary authority." The provisions in respect of science instruction, were to be placed upon a basis somewhat analogous to that adopted for art. Local endeavours were to be encouraged, and supplemented by Government aid.

XXVII. The supplies of scientific diagrams and apparatus to elementary schools, was one of the first practical points for consideration. The Department also offered assistance to develop schools of science, and amongst the first towns to attempt the establishment of such special schools, were Bristol, with its "Trade School," described in a letter by Canon Moseley, F.R.S. (see First Report of the Science and Art Department, p. 404), and Birmingham, with its plan of evening classes at the Midland Institute. The Navigation Schools of the Marine Department of the Board of Trade, were also transferred to the control of the Department of Science and Art, and certain changes made in their constitution with a view to their being more generally useful than they had been. Schemes were also discussed and considered by the Department for establishing "Mining" schools in the mining districts. The training of competent teachers of science was expected to take place in the Normal and Central School of Science, as it was termed. The chief classes of this Central School of Science were held on the premises of the Government School of Mines in Jermyn Street; they had been established in 1851;—while instruction in chemistry was given at the Royal College of Chemistry in Oxford Street, an institution which commenced its career in 1845.

XXVIII. As early, however, as August, 1853, Mr. Cole told Mr. Cardwell, "I thought there must be a revolution in Jermyn Street before it could succeed."<sup>1</sup> For five years

<sup>1</sup> Diary.



these various methods of advancing instruction in science throughout the country, were kept in operation. During this time, Mr. Cole had become "Inspector-General," as it was termed, and Dr. Playfair became the sole secretary of the Department. In August, 1854, "Playfair said he felt the hopelessness of progress in science."<sup>1</sup> By an Order in Council dated 25th February, 1856, the Department was transferred from the Board of Trade to the Committee of Council on Education. Under this new arrangement "it was determined that the Education Department in future should consist of two branches; one administering State assistance in aiding general or primary instruction; the other affording similar aid in promoting industrial or secondary instruction; each branch having its own separate office, secretary, and establishment, but both under the orders of the Lord President."<sup>2</sup>

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Transfer of  
department  
to Com-  
mittee of  
Council on  
Education.

XXIX. The development of the Science Division was not very rapid; some despaired of it. "Playfair asked me to go and establish some Trade Schools, and when I assented, he said he would go himself." "Told Playfair I should regret to see many Trade Schools until the foundations were more widely laid, and that I did not consider myself responsible for them."<sup>1</sup>

XXX. A year later (1857), my father appears to have felt the necessity of making a serious effort himself to assist in re-organizing the Science Division. "16th February—Proposed to Playfair to get a Directory for Science."<sup>1</sup> As with the fostering of the growth of instruction in art through

Elementary  
classes for  
science.

<sup>1</sup> Diary.

<sup>2</sup> Very shortly after this "Playfair said Lord Granville did not see the point of juncture between the Education Board and our Department." As a matter of fact, union between the executive staffs was not effected

until Mr. Cole resigned in 1873, when the Secretary of the Education Office commenced attending the board meetings at South Kensington, and transacting business in respect of the Science and Art Department and its Museums.

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Plan for  
establishing  
science  
schools.

Examina-  
tions and  
rewards.

Exhibitions  
as rewards.

elementary classes, so he felt it should be with science. All the scientific institutions above-mentioned, which provided for advanced instruction in science, good as they might be, and might further become, could not, my father saw, meet the want of simple rudimentary instruction in science. He felt that the full-blown tree was expected to live without care being given to its roots. Means for providing elementary instruction in science to the country generally, were the roots to be tended. 14th August, 1857. "Devising plan for science schools," entitled "Proceedings for the establishing science schools or classes." This plan was composed of four headings:—A. "In obtaining students." B. "In providing school rooms and buildings." C. "In obtaining apparatus, examples, and outfit." D. "In obtaining masters."<sup>1</sup> From wherever "a declaration expressing a desire to establish a school or class for secondary instruction useful in handicrafts, that is to say, instruction in mechanics, mechanical drawing, chemistry, physics, and natural history,"<sup>2</sup> should be submitted to the Department, "signed by not fewer than one in 1,000 of the inhabitants of the place or district where the school is proposed to be,"<sup>2</sup> schools or classes were to be established. The Department was to organize examinations of the students of such classes, and to offer rewards as a stimulus to the training of candidates for such examinations. These rewards were to take the shape of exhibitions. The exhibitions were to be of three classes:—1st. of £10 each, of which £2 was to be paid to the master who had taught the successful student, and £8 for the maintenance of the student; 2nd. £2 to the master, and a free admission to the science school or class in the morning; and 3rd, free admission to the evening classes, in respect of which the master would be paid the usual fees. As regarded the provision of buildings or premises for those

<sup>1</sup> Diary.

<sup>2</sup> Memoranda.



science schools or classes, the Department was to be authorized to make a grant of 50 per cent. upon the outlay incurred in this direction by a locality. Specially certificated masters for teaching science in the proposed classes, were to be trained, and exhibitions of £50 a year tenable at a training college were to be offered for the purpose at the close of the year; the persons so trained were to be examined in London by the Science and Art Department, and certificates of competency granted to them if successful. The holders of such certificates should be entitled to an annual payment of £10 or £5 while he taught a science school or class. The scheme appears to have come before the Lord President and Vice-President of the Council (Lord Granville and Mr. Cowper) on the 28th August.

XXXI. The usual vacations intervened, during which time my father was at work upon an address on the "Functions of the Science and Art Department," which he delivered at South Kensington on the 16th November (see Vol. II., p. 285). This was followed by an address by Dr. Playfair on "Science Institutions in connection with the Department."

XXXII. Early in 1858, the Ministry resigned, and the Marquis of Salisbury became Lord President, and Mr. Adderley Vice-President. The re-organization of the Science Division constantly occupied my father's thoughts now. In July, writing to Mr. Lingen, then Secretary of the Education Department for Primary Instruction, he says: "the prospective resignation of Playfair ought, I think, to lead to a re-consideration of the State aid in promoting 'Science,' and the present somewhat hazy arrangements. I should very much like to talk the subject over with you. . . . I cannot help thinking that 'Science in general' belongs to 'Education in general,' and would grow best in connection with it, while 'Science technical,' such as

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Masters to  
be trained  
and certi-  
ficated.

Re-organ-  
ization of  
Science  
Division.

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Appointment of Mr.  
Cole as sole  
secretary.

Resignation  
of Dr. Playfair.

Mining, or Navigation, requiring special arrangements, might have special arrangements." Almost immediately after this, my father left England to recruit his health by a six months' holiday abroad. Upon his return in March, 1859, he entered upon his duties as sole secretary of the Science and Art Department, an office he was appointed to fill upon Dr. Playfair's resignation in the autumn of 1858. The various collections at South Kensington, were also administered by him as General Superintendent. The diary is full of notes concerning the consideration of re-arrangements in the Science Division.

Society of  
Arts and  
Science.

New plan  
of action for  
Science  
Division.

XXXIII. The Society of Arts had been engaged since 1856, in conducting a scheme of public examinations in different branches of science, and my father (a Vice-President of that Society) thought it advisable that the Society should not compete with the Department in similar work. He accordingly discussed the point with an old friend of his, Mr. Harry Chester, also a Vice-President of the Society, having previously drawn up a plan of action for the Department, which he talked out and revised with Captain Fowke, R.E., and Captain Donnelly, R.E. Its outlines were submitted to "My Lords" at South Kensington on the 31st March, 1860. "Two hours talking about science. Lord Salisbury became impatient that science instruction had not advanced like art, and said if we could not find out how to teach his carpenters at Hatfield some science useful to them he would abolish the name of 'Science' from the title of the Department." 5th April—"Further discussion about Science, and no agreement between Lord and Vice-President." 13th April—"Sir J. Kay Shuttleworth came to discuss aid to mechanics' institutes—discussing aid to primary instruction."<sup>1</sup>

Board meeting for dis-

XXXIV. On the 2nd June, "My Lords" held a board

<sup>1</sup> Diary.



meeting of unusual length, "from one to five p.m." The whole time almost was given up to the "Science Minute—Mr. Adderley wishing to reduce it to zero." As finally approved, the minute proposed "to assist the industrial classes of this country in supplying themselves with instruction in the rudiments of practical and descriptive geometry, mechanical drawing, &c., physics, chemistry, geology, and mineralogy, natural history." Science classes were to be taught by teachers duly certificated by the Department. Payments on the results of the science examinations were to be offered, both with the view of encouraging teachers to increase their qualifications, and to meet the cost of the instruction given by them to students in the classes. Lord Salisbury and Mr. Adderley were succeeded soon afterwards by Lord Granville and Mr. Lowe, who passed subsequent minutes developing the principles laid down by their predecessors. The Science Division was in working order by the end of 1860; and Captain Donnelly prepared a review of its origin and the work it aimed at doing. A copy of the paper was sent to the Vice-President (Mr. Lowe), who returned it "as the reprieved convict did the Prayer Book to the chaplain, with thanks, having no further use for it."<sup>1</sup>

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Discussion of  
Science  
Minute.

Minutes  
passed de-  
veloping the  
principles  
of science  
instruction.

XXXIV. The syllabus of the science curriculum has been added to from time to time. In 1873, it included twenty-three different subjects. In 1860, thirty science classes yielding 1,340 candidates for examination were opened; and in 1873, there were 1,182 classes, and 24,674 candidates were examined.

XXXV. The high red brick and terra cotta building with its façade to the south-eastern end of Exhibition Road or Prince's Gate, is the Normal School of Science, an institution described by the present Dean, Professor Huxley, as having arisen out of the organization for elementary scientific

Normal  
School of  
Science.

<sup>1</sup> Diary.

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teaching and examination established by the Department in 1859.

"It was from the first an essential part of that organization, that candidates who highly distinguished themselves in the examinations should have the opportunity of developing the scientific capacity they had shown; and exhibitions were provided for their maintenance while pursuing their studies in the Royal School of Mines and elsewhere.

"But it was very soon discovered that the instruction given in the science classes was extremely defective, and that the main obstacle in the way of its improvement lay in the ignorance of the proper methods of scientific teaching which prevailed among the teachers of the classes.

"As a partial remedy for this evil, teachers have been encouraged, year after year, to attend short special courses of lectures and laboratory work in the various branches of physical science taught in the Royal School of Mines.

"But it is obvious that, if the elementary science teaching in the country is to be made thoroughly satisfactory, the teachers must be efficiently trained, and training of this kind involves a lengthened period of systematic theoretical and practical instruction. It is the chief object of the Normal School of Science to provide such instruction for the teachers of the subjects of the May examinations in physical science, except those which are dealt with by the schools of navigation and naval architecture."

It will thus be seen that instruction in art occupied the chief attention in the first instance; science came later, though during the Exhibition of 1851 collections of objects useful in scientific and technical instruction, were forming themselves under the auspices of Her Majesty's Commissioners. It was not, however, until the removal of the Department of Science and Art from Marlborough House to South Kensington, that the value of these scientific and technical collections was publicly brought forward.

Commence-  
ment of  
scientific and  
technical  
collections  
in 1851.





PURCHASE OF THE SOUTH KENSINGTON ESTATE, AND THE SCHEMES FOR USING IT.

PART I.

1851-1873.

I.



IN the purchase of the South Kensington estate, and the subsequent development of the institutions upon it, Her Majesty's Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851, the Government, the Royal Horticultural, other societies, and private individuals have been concerned. The common cause of these agencies was the promotion of Science and Art. Much of the practical work of these agencies may be said to have become centred in my father, for he suggested and initiated action on behalf of many of them, respectively and collectively.

II. The original estate of land consisted of eighty-six acres. The main portion of it was bounded on the north by the Kensington High Road, on the south by the Cromwell Road, on the west by Queen's Gate, or Prince Albert's Road, as it was formerly called, and on the east by Exhibition Road, these last three great roads being constructed by Her Majesty's Commissioners in 1854. Between the

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Extent of  
original  
estate.

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TON Es-  
TATE.

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Part I.

Institutions  
erected upon  
the estate.

precincts of the Brompton Oratory and the Exhibition Road, is a site of about twelve acres which also formed part of the original estate. Upon this latter site, stand the buildings used by the Science and Art Department, the South Kensington Museum, the National Art Training School, and the Normal School for Science, whilst upon the main part already mentioned are the Royal Albert Hall, the building of the late National Training School for Music (now devoted to the Royal College of Music), the arcades and galleries about the Royal Horticultural Gardens, the National Training School for Cookery, the Royal School of Art Needlework, the City and Guilds of London Technical Institute, the National Portrait Gallery, and the Natural History Museum of the British Museum. At least nine distinct governing bodies are concerned with the administration of these various institutions. Her Majesty's Commissioners are the landlords of a great part of the land, the Government having acquired other portions. A great project, foreshadowed thirty-two years ago, has been almost accomplished. A sketch alone can here be attempted of its accomplishment.

Early plans  
for disposal  
of surplus  
funds from  
Exhibition  
of 1851.

III. It became evident when the Great Exhibition of 1851 was at its zenith, crowded daily with thousands of visitors, that a large surplus profit would accrue to Her Majesty's Commissioners. "The Prince summoned Sir William Reid, Dilke, Northcote, Lyon Playfair, Sir William Cubitt, and myself to Osborne," on the 13th August, 1851, "to tell us of his plan for disposing of this surplus and to invite our opinions. The Prince proposed to centralize leading learned and artistic societies upon a site opposite the Exhibition Palace in Hyde Park, and to buy the necessary land for £50,000 at once. H.R.H. would make four institutions, one for raw materials, one for machinery, one for manufactures, one for fine arts; the whole to be governed



by the chairmen of each society and the Statistical Society. We discussed and modified this scheme. Instead of four institutions there should be one. It was desirable not to mention the societies by name."<sup>1</sup> The general scheme was approved, but there was an almost unanimous condemnation of its details. "Reid thought it quite impracticable, and everybody laughed at the idea of making the Antiquarian and Archæological Societies 'commercial,' moving them and governing them by the Statistical Society."<sup>1</sup>

IV. The following day, my father wrote to Colonel Phipps about the Prince's scheme, and on the 16th August, Colonel Phipps returned the paper of questions drawn up by my father, the replies to which were written on the margin of the paper by H.R.H. the Prince. The memorandum is as follows:—

*(The Prince's replies.)*

No. They may be considered, but not settled upon.

This most desirable course will become apparent upon communication with the Societies.

Yes; but the general plan will have to govern.

That will depend upon negotiation and agreement in each individual case.

*(Mr. Cole's questions.)*

Are the buildings to be designed and built on a settled plan before any Societies have agreed to use them, and upon the chance of their agreeing to use them?

Are they to be erected in portions according to the demand for them, and designed in accordance with the wants and wishes which each Society may express?

Are the Societies to have any voice or power in the construction of the buildings?

Are the Societies to bear a proportionate share of the first cost of the buildings, or contribute in any way towards them?

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Correspon-  
dence as to  
plan of  
H.R.H. the  
Prince Con-  
sort.

<sup>1</sup> Diary.

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This would be consequent upon negotiation. A general rate perhaps amongst them. Council of Chairmen to direct.

Are they to pay rent for use, or to be liable for maintenance and future repairs, or are these to be defrayed from a general fund? If so, how is this to be obtained?

No; conditional.

Or are the buildings, &c., to be a perpetual gift to the Societies?

The plan must be entire, the Societies admissible according to their being able to satisfy the wants in the particular divisions.

How are the future Societies to be admitted to participate in the advantages?

No. To consider and mature it. Their agency will cease with the expenditure of the money.

Is it proposed that the present Commission shall carry out the proposal?

Yes.

Is it not the general desire of the present Commission that it should expire when it has performed its function?

If provisionally, the Commission; ultimately, the governing body.

Who is to have charge of the ground when purchased?

Matters for the consideration of the Commission.

Who is to lay it out? Who is to procure plans for buildings? How are these to be procured? Who is to superintend the construction? Who is to negotiate with the Societies, seek their concurrence, and point out the advantages which many will deny, others will be slow to entertain, and a very few indeed be willing to admit at once? Who is to have the duty of removing difficulties and objections?



No.	Are these functions to be given to Government?	THE SOUTH KENSINGTON ESTATE. A.D. 1851-1873. Part I.
Though the Government will have to be consulted, how far will depend on the further negotiations.	Will Government take them? and will the Societies be prepared to treat with the Government?	
Possible? Yes.	Is it possible that the requisite organizations can grow out of the concurrence of the different Societies?	
The Commission will have to communicate, and in the mode in which it thinks best.	Will it not be indispensable that some organization should precede any communication with the Societies?	
Not the first step,—it may be ultimately necessary.	Is not the first step a new charter, and then application to Parliament?	

Colonel Phipps wrote to Mr. Cole on the 25th August that "The direct object to be obtained by the Prince's proposal for the employment of the surplus is, in my opinion, industrial education, divided in the course of instruction into the four sections into which the Exhibition was divided, in order that those who studied for immediate application to their own pursuit, might apply alone or chiefly to one section. The means of acquiring this education in each section to be:—(1.) By study (library). (2.) By tuition (lectures). (3.) By ocular demonstration (exhibitions). (4.) By discussion (conversazioni, &c.)."

V. And here it may be right to mention that exhibitors and foreign Governments presented various articles to Her Majesty's Commissioners, and many offers of further important contributions were made, but were only withheld until a suitable place of deposit should be provided for them. The bulk of these collections consisted of raw materials, models of inventions, and objects useful in scientific

Idea of promoting industrial education.

Collections formed under auspices of H.M. Commissioners useful for industrial education.

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AXX

Surplus  
Committee  
and their  
report.

National  
Gallery.

First and  
final pur-  
chases of  
land by  
H.M. Com-  
missioners.

instruction. As a palpable fact operating upon the Commissioners' deliberations in the framing of a scheme to improve industrial education, they must not be overlooked; although for some years they remained stored away in Kensington Palace and elsewhere, and were not as a whole arranged for public instruction until the Science and Art Department moved from Marlborough House to South Kensington. They then became one of the corner-stones of the scientific collections of the South Kensington Museum.

VI. Now towards the autumn of 1851, Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed a committee to report upon the use of the great surplus profit. Nov. 2nd, 1851, "with Dilke and Playfair to Windsor to see the Prince. He read us the report of the Surplus Committee. He would have industrial education promoted, but gradually, as the public showed their wish for it. He proposed to connect it with the National Gallery,<sup>1</sup> and the School of Design. The site of the proposed buildings to be in the neighbourhood of Hyde Park. The Prince had quite given up collecting together the societies. We all agreed in the report."<sup>2</sup>

VII. Shortly afterwards, and particularly in view of providing a site for the New National Gallery, Her Majesty's Commissioners concluded the purchase, for £60,000, of the Gore House estate (about 21½ acres), which had a frontage towards the Park of between five hundred and six hundred feet. This, however, was but a fraction of the extent of land which the Prince thought should be secured. The Commissioners

<sup>1</sup> A Commission, consisting of Lord Seymour, Lord Colborne, Sir Charles Eastlake, Mr. Ewart, and Sir Richard Westmacott, had reported, in 1851, upon the question of a site for a New National Gallery, and given their opinion in favour of fifteen to twenty

acres of land, with a frontage to the Park, which might at the time be obtained at a reasonable price, and afford a space for the construction of a New National Gallery.

<sup>2</sup> Diary.



shared the Prince's views, and supported them, "none more firmly than Cobden, who considered that the Prince had the best title to have his own way. At the same time, Cobden regretted the surplus was so large, because he foresaw in the future great difficulties in the disposal of it."<sup>1</sup> To secure the large area of land contemplated, the Prince "induced Lord Derby's first ministry to go into partnership for the purchase, at a cost of three hundred thousand pounds, which was afterwards increased by about thirty thousand pounds."<sup>1</sup> Land adjoining the Gore House estate was accordingly bought, through the joint action of Her Majesty's Commissioners and the Government, from Lord Harrington and Baron Villars at about £3,000 an acre. "Cobden expressed his high opinion of the Prince's sagacity and ability in the purchase of this land, saying that 'H.R.H. would have made his fortune as a land agent!'"<sup>1</sup>

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Partnership  
between Go-  
vernment  
and Com-  
missioners  
for purchase  
of land.

VIII. During the years 1853 and 1854, my father was in frequent communication with His Royal Highness, considering and talking over the means of giving effect to the plans for the use of the estate. August 15th, 1853, "To Osborne. Saw the Prince—after lunch walked with him about the grounds, and in his dressing-room, discussing the means of realizing the Kensington scheme by a joint-stock company—with him till 5.20."<sup>1</sup> It was about this time that Mr. Cole submitted to the Prince his "Observations on the expediency of carrying out the Proposals of the Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851 for the promotion of Institutions of Science and Art at Kensington, rather by the public themselves than by Government." Nothing of a definite character was decided on. A complete plan, showing how the whole of the estate might be laid out as a public garden, surrounded and crossed with buildings for the National Gallery, the Collections and Normal Schools

Plans for the  
use of the  
estate.

Idea of a  
public gar-  
den, sur-  
rounded by  
buildings.

<sup>1</sup> Diary.

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of the Science and Art Department, a Museum of Patented Inventions, the Society of Arts, the University of London, and the Royal Academy of Music, was prepared in February, 1854, by Mr. Cole and Mr. Redgrave, and submitted to His Royal Highness. It was one of the first, if not the first, of any definite schemes framed for consideration by the Commissioners.

Proposal to  
remove  
National  
Gallery to  
South Ken-  
sington.

IX. A Select Committee of the House of Commons had reported, in 1853, in favour of removing the National Gallery from Trafalgar Square to Kensington, where three years later a site was offered to the Government by Her Majesty's Commissioners. But when the subject generally was brought before the House of Commons, "Lord Elcho carried a motion that the question of site should be referred to a Royal Commission."<sup>1</sup> After some difficulty this Commission<sup>2</sup> was constituted and held meetings in 1856. They reported finally in favour of retaining the National Gallery in Trafalgar Square.<sup>3</sup>

Prince's idea  
of using  
estate for  
public insti-  
tutions un-  
favourably  
received.

X. "The Prince met with many disappointments, and his idea of using the land for public institutions of science and art was received with hostility and opposition."<sup>1</sup> Previously to the termination of the protracted endeavours to transfer the National Gallery to Kensington, the Prince's scheme of concentrating the learned societies upon a site near the Park, had been to a great extent superseded by the Government's purchase of the site now in use by the University of London and other bodies at Burlington House.

<sup>1</sup> Diary.

<sup>2</sup> Consisting of Lord Broughton, the Dean of St. Paul's, Mr. C. R. Cockerell, Professor Faraday, Mr. Richard Ford, Mr. George Richmond, with Mr. Butler (now Head Master of Harrow) as secretary.

<sup>3</sup> In 1857, my father wrote a pamphlet, entitled, "The National Gallery Difficulties solved at a cost of eighty thousand instead of a million pounds" (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts. Price 3d.).



XI. The endeavours of Her Majesty's Commissioners to fix on a course of action for promoting science and art, had, by 1855, practically resulted in the collection of a great deal of information concerning several independent institutions having kindred aims in promoting science and art; and the purchase of the large estate already mentioned, about which they had laid out spacious roadways. No new buildings had been erected upon it. A collection of animal products and raw materials was being formed by the Commissioners and the Society of Arts. In 1854, the Society of Arts organized an "Educational Exhibition" at St. Martin's Hall, and towards its close, Her Majesty's Commissioners expressed a desire to preserve this collection intact as a permanent museum of education. Through the Society of Arts, the various articles composing it were offered to and accepted by the Government, upon the condition that this collection should be housed and exhibited permanently. In view of a national collection of models of inventions, which might be developed into an institution similar to the "Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers" in Paris,<sup>1</sup> Her Majesty's Commissioners had taken charge of the nucleus of such a collection formed by Professor Bennet Woodcroft. Mr. Twining<sup>2</sup> had brought before the Commissioners the formation of a Museum of Domestic Economy, the object of which was to exemplify cheapness, appropriateness, and good workmanship in the dwellings of the humbler classes of the community, and Her Majesty's

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Part I.

Educational  
collection.

Collection of  
models of  
inventions.

<sup>1</sup> A possible "Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers" for this country was incidentally alluded to by Mr. Cole, when examined before Select Committees of the House of Commons on the Patent Office Library and Museum, July, 1864, and on Hungerford Bridge and Wellington Street Viaduct in May, 1869.

<sup>2</sup> In August, 1864, I find a note of a visit paid by my father to Mr. Twining's Museum of Domestic Economy at Twickenham. "A rare collection for inutility—sets of baby clothes of all nations, samples of bricks and pickles."

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Part I.

Art collec-  
tions.

Marl-  
borough  
House  
wanted as a  
residence  
for Prince  
of Wales.

Prince Con-  
sort's idea  
for bringing  
various  
museums  
together.

Commissioners expressed their sympathy with the project. Meanwhile, the ornamental and other art collections were growing under the charge of the Science and Art Department. An architectural museum was also contemplated. But the time was close at hand when Marlborough House should be prepared for the use of the Prince of Wales. Thus circumstances were ripe for finding a home for these several collections, the united aim of which was the promotion of science and art.

XII. In view of such a home, a memorandum, dated 24th February, 1855, made when His Royal Highness came to Mr. Cole's office at Marlborough House one day, is as follows :—

"Prince Albert suggested that a company should be formed to erect buildings on the quadrangular piece of ground near Brompton Church . . . to be used as temporary galleries for Marlborough House Museum, Educational Museum, Patent Museum, &c. The buildings should be somewhat on the plan of the Palais Royal—shops with a colonnade, and flats for residence above." His Royal Highness sketched a ground plan and elevation on blotting paper, and desired that Professor Semper should be requested to make a set of drawings, for which "he would be prepared to pay." A perspective model, tinted with sepia, on cardboard, was accordingly made by Professor Semper, and it is now preserved in the South Kensington Museum. But this idea and the building were found to be impracticable. Something on a less grandiose scale was wanted.

XIII. It was at this time that "Lord Aberdeen's ministry had paid the penalty of the misfortunes which attended the early events of the Crimean War, and Lord Palmerston had succeeded as Prime Minister. Lord Palmerston, years before, had been in antagonism to the Prince, to whom he attributed his dismissal by Lord John Russell, but being now brought into direct communication with him, learned



to appreciate his true value. He bore honourable testimony to this at the Prince's death in 1861."<sup>1</sup> 14th June, 1855:—"To Buckingham Palace. Met Lord Stanley,<sup>2</sup> Sir William Cubitt, and Bowring, who came about erecting an iron house at Kensington."<sup>3</sup> The south-eastern corner of the estate was selected by the Prince for such a building, the Treasury having "threatened to try and use the ground for military barracks, although bound by Act of Parliament to employ the land for purposes of science and art."<sup>3</sup> At length, "through the Prince's influence, Lord Palmerston asked Parliament for £15,000, in order to provide covered space" for the different collections above mentioned. The Treasury tried to defeat the proposal of this vote (see p. 219, Vol. I.). However, "the money was voted without a division," and the iron buildings, subsequently nicknamed "the Boilers," were forthwith commenced under the supervision of Sir William Cubitt, whilst Mr. Cole was engaged at Paris upon the work of the Exhibition of 1855. He has been credited with having designed them, but the following quotation from a letter<sup>4</sup> will dispel such an impression. The letter is dated August, 1856:—"There is that unlucky iron shed, which will prove a most unfortunate thorn, I suspect" (in respect of the partnership existing between Her Majesty's Commissioners and the Government in the tenure of the Kensington Estate). "All its ugliness is laid upon my department, which knew nothing about it till Redgrave and I returned from Paris and found the columns fixed. The public laugh at its outside ugliness and us. And we, in addition, must be mute on that point, and also on its radical defects for its object. The light is so bad below the wide galleries, that nothing can be exhibited well there. Above the galleries, the angle of light is quite wrong for pictures. The iron produces excess

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Iron build-  
ing for  
museum at  
Kensington.

The  
"Boilers"  
commenced.

Mr. Cole  
disclaims  
having de-  
signed them.

Use of iron  
inappro-  
priate.

<sup>1</sup> Memoranda.

<sup>2</sup> (of Alderley).

<sup>3</sup> Diary.

<sup>4</sup> To General Grey.

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Part I.

Mr. Cole  
urges dis-  
solution of  
partnership  
between  
Commis-  
sioners and  
Government.

Completion  
of "Boilers."

Removal  
of museum  
from Marl-  
borough  
House to  
Kensington.

of heat in summer, and cold in winter. It offers no virtual protection against fire, which will burn the contents and prevent ready succour from the outside. This question was fully investigated in 1851, and Mr. Braidwood was all in favour of *wood* for the outside. In this case, where is the responsibility—with the Commissioners or the Treasury?"

XIV. In the same letter, addressed to General Grey, he urged the desirability of dissolving the partnership in the tenure of the Kensington Estate, between the Commissioners and the Government. "Various circumstances had made it clear to my mind that insuperable difficulties would arise from the partnership between Her Majesty's Commissioners and the Government in owning this land, and I advocated a dissolution of it. I represented this conviction to the Prince. He gave my views that unprejudiced attention which was so striking a feature in him, and finally expressed his entire concurrence with them."<sup>1</sup> The partnership between the Government and the Commissioners was dissolved in July, 1858, the Government receiving from the Commissioners the money they had advanced, together with the interest which the investment had realized. The main portion of the estate now became the sole possession of the Commissioners; the site of twelve acres upon which the "Boilers" had been erected, falling by agreement into the proprietorship of the Government.

XV. The "Boilers" being completed and ready for use, the different collections were transferred to them. The Department of Science and Art, by means of a grant from Government of £10,000, moved its offices and Museum of Ornamental Art from Marlborough House, and became established at South Kensington. At this time,<sup>2</sup> an event

<sup>1</sup> Memoranda.

<sup>2</sup> July 31st, 1856:—"With Richard Redgrave and Fowke to see Mr. Sheepshanks, who would make the

offer of his Collection to the Nation, when he had seen Mulready in a week." Diary.



of importance occurred, in the presentation by Mr. John Sheepshanks to the nation, of his splendid collection of Modern British Paintings. Suitable accommodation could not be found in the iron buildings; and, according to the terms under which the Government accepted this gift, the construction of a special gallery was taken in hand. Captain Fowke, R.E., who, after the Exhibition of 1855, had become attached to the Department as Engineer and Director of the "Museum of Construction," designed the gallery, in conjunction with Mr. Redgrave. The principles adopted are described in the Department's Fifth Annual Report for 1858; and, speaking at a later period, my father said, "he (Captain Fowke), as an architect, demonstrated an accurate formula upon which a picture gallery must be built, in order to exhibit pictures without glitter or reflection." The picture galleries for the Great Exhibition of 1862, were constructed upon identical principles. Their "exact proportions" were reproduced "as incapable of improvement" by the French Imperial Commission for the Exhibition of 1867, and General Scott used them for the picture galleries of the Annual International Exhibitions of 1871-1874.

XVI. Mr. John Sheepshanks expressed a wish that his pictures should be shown to the working classes on Sunday afternoons—a wish, however, that has not been realized; although, for a time, members of the legislature and their friends had the privilege of visiting the Kensington Museum on Sundays, upon signing their names in a book kept for that purpose. This, however, was some years after the "Boilers" and the galleries containing the Sheepshanks Collection, had been opened by Her Majesty the Queen, on the 20th June, 1857.

XVII. There had been a good deal of uncertainty as to whether the opening should be invested with formality. Mr. Cole pressed for an inaugural ceremony, and at

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Presentation  
of Sheep-  
shanks  
Collection  
of Paintings  
to the na-  
tion.

Special  
gallery  
erected.

Captain  
Fowke's  
principles  
as to erec-  
tion of  
picture gal-  
leries.

Mr. Sheep-  
shanks'  
desire that  
the collec-  
tion should  
be shown on  
Sunday.

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1851-1873.

Part I.

Opening  
of Museum  
by Her  
Majesty the  
Queen.

Opening of  
Museum at  
night.

Name of  
South Ken-  
sington sug-  
gested by  
Mr. Cole,  
and adopted.

Considera-  
tions re-  
sumed for  
use of main  
portion of  
Commis-  
sioners'  
estate.

length the matter was definitely settled, Her Majesty the Queen and the Prince coming to the Museum at 9.30 in the evening of the 20th June, when Lord Granville (Lord President) and Mr. Cowper<sup>1</sup> (Vice-President) received the Royal Party, who "expressed themselves quite pleased with all the arrangements."<sup>2</sup> For days previously, the Prince, the Prince of Wales, and Prince Alfred, had been to see the progress of the works. The opening of the Museum at night, implying a system of lighting it up, was perhaps the newest departure in the administration of any museum or public gallery, and it met with universal and unstinted approbation. As a general practice it is now, a quarter of a century later, gradually being adopted. The British Museum Reading Room is lighted, the Royal Academy gives evening conversazioni at Burlington House, and before long, the National Gallery will no doubt be similarly lighted for opening at night. It was in December, 1856, that, in conversation with the Prince Consort, the title "South Kensington" was suggested by Mr. Cole, for the Museum; and this was formally approved by the "Board" on the 21st May, 1857—the day after Her Majesty had opened the Museum.

XVIII. The inauguration of the South Kensington Museum, and the dissolution of the partnership between the Commissioners and the Government, partially diverted attention from the use of the main portion of the Commissioners' estate lying to the west of the Museum. It was, however, "desirable to find some temporary use for a part of it at least. I had formed an opinion that it would be inexpedient to place buildings in the centre of the ground, and thus give away the frontage to the occupiers of houses surrounding the principal area. These occupiers would be sure to be troublesome and critical of what buildings might

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Lord Mount Temple.

<sup>2</sup> Diary.



be subsequently set up. They would probably claim rights and create difficulties as the owners of houses had done in the case of the Exhibition buildings in Hyde Park. Moreover, valuable frontages to Exhibition and Prince Albert's Roads would thus be given away. I stated my views in writing to the Prince, and illustrated them by a plan which my friend Mr. Richard Redgrave, R.A., prepared.

"Through the intervention of Mr. Charles Wentworth Dilke, the Royal Horticultural Society was induced to take a lease of some of the ground. We were walking together on the chalk downs between Newland's Corner and Shere (near Guildford), on the 28th March, 1858, when I suggested to him that he should bring the idea before the Council of the Society. He did so; and, after negotiations, Her Majesty's Commissioners granted the Society a lease of some twenty acres on the main part of their estate, upon certain conditions,"<sup>1</sup> which were, briefly, that the Society and the Commissioners should each spend fifty thousand pounds<sup>2</sup> in laying out the gardens and erecting arcades, &c., about them. The Gardens were opened on the 6th June, 1861, when the Prince Consort made a speech, in the course of which he said:—"We may hope that it (this garden) will at no distant day form the inner court of a vast quadrangle of public buildings, rendered easily accessible by the broad roads which will surround them—buildings where Science and Art may find space for development with that air and light which are, elsewhere, well-nigh banished from this overgrown metropolis."

XIX. The Society was to pay as rental five per cent. on the Commissioners' outlay. "If this rental was not paid once in five years, then the lease was to lapse."<sup>1</sup> The expectation that the Society would pay a regular rental, was

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Royal Hor-  
ticultural  
Society.

Grant of  
lease of land  
to Society.

Opening of  
Royal Hor-  
ticultural  
Gardens at  
South Ken-  
sington by  
the Prince  
Consort.

<sup>1</sup> Memoranda.

<sup>2</sup> The £50,000 spent by the Royal

Horticultural Society was raised by debentures and subscriptions.

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1851-1873.  
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not fulfilled up to 1873. Rentals were certainly paid in 1862 and in 1871, and thus the terms of the lease were technically met. On both occasions, however, the Society received from the authorities of the International Exhibitions held in those years, moneys paid in consideration of certain privileges, and out of those moneys the Society paid the two rentals referred to. It is not perhaps necessary to enter into the details of the story of the Society's failure, its litigations, or of the debenture holders' losses. My father writes : "The household interest of the neighbourhood in the Gardens superseded that of the Royal Horticultural Society. Instead of being gardens for the Society and the general public, they are now (1874) monopolized by the nursery maids and children of the neighbourhood."<sup>1</sup>

XX. In the next chapter some account will be attempted of the designing and construction of the architectural and decorative works which were carried out by the staff at South Kensington, under Mr. Cole's supervision.

<sup>1</sup> Memoranda.







ESTABLISHMENT OF ARCHITECTURAL  
AND DECORATIVE ATELIERS AT  
SOUTH KENSINGTON.

PART I.

1857-1873.

I.



N this chapter on "the establishment of Architectural and Decorative Ateliers at South Kensington," nothing beyond a mere outline of the work which emanated from them is attempted.

II. After the Science and Art Department had been removed to South Kensington, the construction of a special gallery for the Collection of Paintings by British Artists, presented to the nation by Mr. Sheepshanks, was undertaken. Captain Fowke designed this gallery, which has already been referred to (see p. 325, Vol. I.). Its western exterior was decorated with panels of sgraffito by Mr. Andrew MacCallum, which are in good condition, and to be seen from the present inner quadrangle of the Museum buildings.

III. At the time, Mr. Cole, who had suggested the use of this process, was occupied in considering the architectural character to be imparted to the series of arcades with

ARCHITECTURAL AND DECORATIVE WORKS AT SOUTH KENSINGTON.

A.D.  
1857-1873.  
Part I.

Sheepshanks  
Gallery at  
South  
Kensington.

ARCHITECTURAL AND  
DECORATIVE WORKS  
AT SOUTH KENSINGTON.  
A.D.  
1857-1873.  
Part I.

Designs for  
arcades  
round the  
Royal Horticultural  
Society's  
Gardens.

Mr. Godfrey  
Sykes.

which it was proposed to surround the land allotted by Her Majesty's Commissioners to the Royal Horticultural Society. On the 16th July, 1858, a committee consisting of Mr. Richard Redgrave, Captain Fowke, R.E., and Mr. Cole, was appointed by His Royal Highness the Prince Consort to prepare a plan for laying out this land. Mr. Cole suggested that here would be a favourable opportunity for developing the resources of the architectural offices under Captain Fowke, as well as for probably giving students of the National Art Training Schools, a chance of doing considerable decorative work. The Lord President sanctioned the proposal, and in a degree practical effect was thus given to an opinion Mr. Cole expressed as long previously as in 1848 to the Board of Trade. (See p. 115, Vol. I.) In order to prevent any misconceptions, such as have occurred, it may be well to say here that the expenses of the work done in the South Kensington Ateliers, for the arcades of the Horticultural Gardens, were borne by Her Majesty's Commissioners. Mr. Sydney Smirke, A.R.A., was called in to prepare architectural designs for the Commissioners, and these designs were reviewed and revised by the above-named Committee. Eventually, a part of the northern and central arcades was erected from Mr. Smirke's designs, whilst the southern arcades and conservatories, in which modelled terracotta columns are freely used, were built from designs prepared by Captain Fowke assisted by Mr. Godfrey Sykes.<sup>1</sup>

IV. Almost immediately after the Committee had commenced their meetings (22 July, 1858), "Sir James Clark

<sup>1</sup> He had been master of the School of Art at Sheffield, and was a pupil of the late Alfred Stevens. He had proved his ability as a designer and modeller, and his services were first engaged by the Science and Art Department in July, 1859, when he commenced making a series of de-

signs suitable for execution in sgraffito, terra-cotta, &c., which might be useful, not only for study in the Training School and in local Schools of Art, but also for use in the completion of the outside of the buildings of the Museum.



said I ought to get complete rest for twelve months or so, and advised Italy." A month later, Mr. Cole started on a tour, accompanied by Mr. Richard Redgrave and the late Mr. Samuel Redgrave,<sup>1</sup> who travelled with him until the end of September, visiting Turin, Genoa, Spezzia, Pisa, Florence, Bologna, Mantua, Venice, Padua, Verona, Milan, and so by Bellinzona, Airolo, over the St. Gothard Pass, to Lucerne, where the two Messrs. Redgrave left him, and he was joined by my mother. He remained with her in Switzerland from October to December, when she returned to England, and two of his daughters came out to him, and travelled with him to Rome and Naples and back to England, which they reached early in March, 1859.

V. Throughout the whole of this journey he kept a detailed diary of places visited, things seen, people met, and the suggestions which the new life brought to him. A few quotations from this diary may show better than anything else how his thoughts reverted to Kensington, and the application of the architectural and decorative suggestions which he derived abroad, to the development of buildings, &c. at Kensington. "Rome, Sunday, 19 December, 1858. Our route to church is along the Pincian Hill, and then past the Academy of France, which is held in the Medici Palace or Villa. The gardens are open, and we stroll into them. They are laid out with box-hedges, now three feet high, and suggest what we might do at Kensington." . . . "The garden front of the house is ascribed to M. Angelo. It has been arranged so as to receive bas-reliefs of antiquity, and they are very happily brought

ARCHITECTURAL AND DECORATIVE WORKS AT SOUTH KENSINGTON.

A.D. 1857-1873. Part I.

Mr. Cole's tour in Italy.

Rome.

<sup>1</sup> Formerly of the Home Office, and joint-author with his brother, of "A Century of Painters of the English School," and author of "A Dictionary of Artists of the English School." Mr. Samuel Redgrave frequently rendered

most valuable services in directing the arrangement of pictures and other art objects, exhibited at the South Kensington Museum and at International Exhibitions in Paris and London.

ARCHITECTURAL AND  
DECORATIVE WORKS  
AT SOUTH KENSINGTON.  
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1857-1873.  
Part I.

in. We should have a photograph of it and also of the colonnade at the side. This is about twenty-five feet high, and I think shows that that height would hardly be sufficient for our colonnade at Kensington." 23 December. "To the Museums of the Capitol, passing the Fountain di Trevi. It shows that it is volume of water which makes a fountain effective, and it suggested that we might have a good flow of water down the Upper Terrace at Kensington." 5 January, 1859. "Wrote a letter recommending that Captain Fowke should come out to Rome to prepare himself for the Kensington plans." 7 January, 1859. "Walked past the St. John Lateran and by the old Via Latina to see two tombs the property of Mr. Fortunati, and one of which had only been discovered last April. We descended about fifteen steps, once covered with marble, and found one tomb arched over, and the vault of the arching quite covered with light and graceful plaster work—very free in execution. The reliefs were not prominent. The subjects pagan. The scroll-work very pretty and lightsome. The figures were in circular compartments. This tomb has been constructed of fine brick-work—the mouldings and ornamental parts of light buff, the other parts of red. A rather large building in the same field showed this treatment more plainly. The pilasters were of red brick, but the Corinthian capital of yellow—not cut, but moulded before they were baked. I hope we shall adopt this system at Kensington, rather eschewing the use of stone, except where stone would be decidedly best." There are many other notes, as to the use of sgraffito,—glazed earthenware, &c.; and upon the Roman mosaic manufactory, where "the old art and real purpose of mosaic seems almost gone out."

VI. Although these quotations from the diary may serve to indicate how constantly Mr. Cole was on the watch for suggestions likely to be of use in the architectural and de-



corative works at South Kensington, it will not be forgotten that for years previously he had given careful study to similar sources of suggestion ; a study which is most apparent, perhaps, in his guide books to Westminster Abbey and Hampton Court, where he describes varied productions of artists and art workmen, engaged throughout many past centuries, upon the construction and ornamentation of those historic structures.

ARCHITECTURAL AND DECORATIVE WORKS AT SOUTH KENSINGTON.

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VII. Upon his return from abroad, the works on the Commissioners' estate were in progress, and new buildings for the South Kensington Museum were contemplated. Additional picture galleries were constructed adjoining the Sheepshanks gallery, and a large glazed court at the N.E. end of the Museum precincts, was planned and erected by Captain Fowke. New buildings were provided for the National Art Training Schools, which had been housed in temporary wooden sheds. And soon after, followed the erection of four official residences, the decorated façade of which forms the western face of the present inner quadrangle of the Museum buildings. The style adopted by Captain Fowke is the key-note of that subsequently followed for the later buildings. It is based upon that usually seen in North Italian buildings of the fifteenth century—red brick with fawn-coloured and red terra-cotta being chiefly used. The modelled ornaments were designed by Mr. Sykes, under whom, at this time, there were two or three pupils, notably Mr. Reuben Townroe, and Mr. James Gamble.

New buildings contemplated for the South Kensington Museum.

National Art Training Schools.

VIII. In continuation of the glazed north court above mentioned came, southwards, double courts with iron ribs and columns. The decoration of these was devised by Mr. Godfrey Sykes, and carried out by him and his pupils. On each of the outer sides of these courts is a series of long lunette-headed panels each filled with a portrait of some artist. These,

Double south court at the South Kensington Museum.

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Mosaic  
works.

Inner quadrangle of  
South Kensington  
Museum.

Commissions  
to Royal Academicians  
and other artists.

panels were designed from time to time by various artists, and subsequently worked in mosaic ; a process to which Mr. Cole gave much attention. In 1862, a class of mosaicists was started, and carried out many of the different mosaic decorations which adorn the interior and exterior of the permanent buildings. One of the largest of the mosaic works executed at a later date by the mosaicists, is the frieze round the Royal Albert Hall.

IX. The central block of the inner quadrangle at South Kensington, is remarkable for specimens of decorative work carried out in different materials. Besides the moulded terracotta, of which Mr. Sykes's group of columns is so beautiful an example, there are panels of mosaics wrought both in unglazed earthenware and vitreous tesserae. Over the door modelled from Mr. Sykes's design, which is reproduced in bronze and gilt, are panels in relief in glazed earthenware, after the manner of Della Robbia ware. The interior of the principal refreshment rooms is decorated almost entirely with glazed modelled earthenware and tiles, the ceilings being of enamelled iron. The dado and panels of the western staircase, the decoration of which was designed and executed by Mr. F. W. Moody, and the columns in this gallery containing the Museum's collection of pottery, are also of glazed earthenware.

X. To enlist the interest of artists generally, in the decoration of the Museum, was a particular aim of Mr. Cole's, and from time to time commissions to Royal Academicians and others were sanctioned. Various panels were designed for the decoration of galleries built for exhibiting the "National Competition" works of Art Students—galleries now given up to the Jones bequest, where may be seen lunettes illustrative of stages of instruction in modelling, painting, anatomy, by Mr. George Leslie, R.A., Mr. Marks, R.A., Mr. Pickersgill, R.A., Mr. Val Prinsep, A.R.A., Mr. Eyre



Crowe, A.R.A., and others. Mr. E. J. Poynter, R.A., designed the decorations painted on tiles for the "grill-room" of the refreshment department, and the companion room, a dining-room, was decorated by Messrs. Morris and Co.<sup>1</sup> About the wainscoting of that room, are panels painted by Mr. E. Burne Jones, who also designed the windows. The ornamentation in Persian and Chinese styles of a division in the Museum set apart for oriental objects, was carried out by Mr. Owen Jones. Stained glass and painted windows for the staircases and in the gallery containing the pottery collections, were executed by Mr. Townroe, Mr. Gamble, Mr. Moody, and Mr. W. B. Scott. My father had thought that a copy of Raphael's "School of Athens," if done in mosaic, would form a suitable decoration for a large lunette space in one of the centre courts. A committee of artists was appointed to consider the question; but they decided against it; and, eventually, Messrs. Leighton,<sup>2</sup> Watts, and Pickersgill were invited to make special designs for the space: that by Mr. Leighton, R.A., "The Arts of War," was chosen, and has since been painted in spirit fresco.<sup>3</sup>

XI. A great loss occurred in the death of Captain Fowke, in 1865, which was shortly followed by that of Mr. Sykes. Their offices and ateliers had, however, become thoroughly organized for work. Colonel Scott was appointed to succeed Captain Fowke, and among the more important of the buildings at South Kensington, erected under Colonel Scott's supervision, were those of the great South-Eastern courts, and the present Normal School for Science. In much of the interior arrangement of the latter building, as well as in the adaptation of the iron sheds or "boilers," as they were nick-named, to the purposes of a new museum at

ARCHITECTURAL AND DECORATIVE WORKS AT SOUTH KENSINGTON.

A.D. 1857-1873. Part I.

Stained glass and painted windows.

Death of Captain Fowke and of Mr. Godfrey Sykes.

Appointment of Colonel Scott, R.E., as Director of New Buildings.

Museum at Bethnal Green.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. William Morris, author of the "Earthly Paradise," is the head of this firm.

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards Sir Frederick, P.R.A.

<sup>3</sup> The companion, "Arts of Peace," is in progress to fill the opposite lunette.

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Royal  
Albert Hall.

Bethnal Green, he was assisted by Mr. James Wild. Amongst my father's papers, I have found a sketch by him, dated 1868, for the façade in Exhibition Road, of the Science Schools, with its upper overhanging colonnade, a feature upon which he insisted. The building as ultimately erected shows but little departure from his design. It was about this time, 1866-68, that the building of the Royal Albert Hall at Kensington Gore, was commenced, and with that building, both in its internal arrangements and external architecture, Mr. Cole and Captain Fowke were intimately concerned. For many years previously, the building had been contemplated. Indeed, as early as 1858, rough plans and sections were sketched by Mr. Cole of an elliptical or oval shaped covered Hall, capable of holding 30,000 persons. Numerous models, plans, and designs were made for the Royal Albert Hall; with the exception of one by the late Sir Gilbert Scott, all were executed in the architectural and decorative ateliers at South Kensington. But these, again, as in the case of works undertaken for Her Majesty's Commissioners, were paid for out of funds other than those voted by Parliament for works at South Kensington.

Mr. Cole's  
opinions on  
architecture,  
given before  
House of  
Commons.

XII. Some interest may attach to the opinions upon architectural matters given by Mr. Cole in 1869, when under examination in May and June, before a Select Committee of the House of Commons on Hungerford Bridge and Wellington Street Viaduct. Two papers which he handed in are printed as the appendix to the Committee's Report, and are now reprinted (p. 296, Vol. II.). That dated 1869 was prepared by him after a conversation with Mr. Lowe, who had discussed with him "how to keep architects and their estimates in order, and asked me to prepare a memorandum. I said, a design could not be made all at once. Man was not made at one effort." "You mean,"



said Mr. Lowe, "that the monkey was an imperfect experiment."

XIII. During the International Exhibition held in Paris in 1867, Mr. Cole delivered an address to the students of the Ecole Centrale d'Architecture, which is printed in Vol. II., p. 301. And at p. 305, Vol. II., will be found a letter written by him to the Editor of the "Times" in 1872, upon "Public Architecture."

XIV. Before concluding this brief enumeration, it may be mentioned that Mr. Cole paid much attention to devising various forms of cases and frames for exhibiting different classes of objects in the Museum, and economizing space; amongst others, a stand upon which hung a series of radiating frames, to be turned round for the examination of each frame. By this means, a large area of flat space for showing drawings, medals, plaques in low-relief, &c., was obtained in a small compass. The Jury of the Imperial Commission of the Paris Exhibition in 1867, awarded a medal of Honour to Mr. Cole for this ingenious exhibiting stand, the principle of which has since been adopted by many public museums at home and abroad.

XV. The architectural offices and studios were visited daily by Mr. Cole. Here, he would discuss and suggest; make rough sketches, and see specimens of materials in use, or proposed for use. When in residence, from 1863 to 1873, his early morning tour of inspection was round the buildings in progress, as well as the carpenters' and smiths' workshops on the premises.<sup>1</sup>

XVI. His contentions with the Treasury in securing grants for proceeding with the buildings for the Museum,

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A.D. 1857-1873.  
Part I.

Cases and frames for exhibiting objects in the Museum.

Mr. Cole's supervision of architectural offices at South Kensington.

Mr. Cole's contentions with the Treasury.

<sup>1</sup> He was always accompanied by his little dog "Jim," a small Yorkshire terrier, whose portrait appeared in "Vanity Fair" in 1871. His grave in the Museum grounds is marked by

a tablet which records that he died in 1879, aged fifteen years, and was the "faithful dog of Sir Henry Cole of this Museum."

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Transfer of charge of buildings to the Board of Works.

were numerous. In the course of them, he was supported by the political heads of the Department, who, almost without exception, cordially urged him to get as much as he could from the Treasury. As a rule, he did not strive without some compensating success; but eventually, a year or so before his retirement, the Treasury decided to transfer the charge of the buildings and their erection, to the Financial Commissioner of Works, in consequence of which, the ateliers and architectural offices gradually ceased to exist after his retirement.







SCIENCE AND ART DEPARTMENT AND  
SOUTH KENSINGTON MUSEUM.

PART I.

1860-1873.

I.

**M**UCH could be written about the succession of subjects with which my father was called upon to deal, during his tenure of office at the Science and Art Department; but it is only possible to refer to a few. The selection, therefore, that has been made, can but slightly indicate the variety of his official duties between 1860 and 1873.

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HOUSE OF COMMONS' INQUIRY INTO SOUTH  
KENSINGTON MUSEUM.

II. A Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed in 1860, to inquire into the South Kensington Museum. During the previous year, a similar Committee had taken evidence respecting public institutions generally. Before both these Committees, as well as before a third, which dealt with the British Museum in March, 1860, Mr. Cole appeared, and was examined at considerable length.

House of  
Commons'  
Inquiry into  
South Ken-  
sington  
Museum.

Mr. John Locke (Member for Southwark at the time) was a prominent objector to the South Kensington Museum.

Mr. John  
Locke, M.P.

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Mr. Cole's  
evidence.

He was on the Select Committee, and was untiring in his efforts to convict Mr. Cole in his evidence. Thus he opens an attack:—

“Has it been a subject of complaint that the South Kensington Museum should be established in a great measure for precisely the same purposes that ought to be answered in the British Museum?” (Mr. Cole.) “I am not aware; I think that they are completely distinct institutions.” “Is not that one of the complaints made with respect to the South Kensington Museum?” (Mr. Cole.) “I am not aware that there has been any expression of feeling that the British Museum ought to take charge of the Art Schools throughout the country.” “Is that a complaint or not?” (Mr. Cole.) “I never heard it.” “What are the complaints which you have heard?” (Mr. Cole.) “Perhaps the Honourable Member will allow me to read his speech in Parliament.” “What was the complaint I made?” (Mr. Cole.) “One was that the South Kensington Museum afforded an illustration, on a small scale, of all the jobs which have ever been carried out in similar undertakings. Another complaint was, that it was in every respect a complete failure, that it was idle to talk of extending what in the eyes of a vast number of persons (probably the 500,000 who came there) was a nuisance; that pictures had been taken out of the different galleries and put into most inconvenient places, and that altogether the concern was in a woeful plight.” “Are you aware that what I said then was with reference to the proposition of the right hon. gentleman now in the chair, as to the extension of the buildings at South Kensington?” (Mr. Cole.) “I am quite aware that the right honourable gentleman's speech was in reference to an application for money for extended buildings, but I cannot admit that those expressions apply to buildings.”

Report of  
Select Com-  
mittee.

The Report of the Committee, however, conclusively cleared up a number of suspicions which had been entertained, such, for instance, as extravagance in the formation of the collections, competition with the British Museum in the purchase of specimens, and centralization in the metropolis of the possible benefits of the institution.



UNIVERSAL CATALOGUE OF BOOKS ON ART.

III. As may have been gathered, the confidence of Parliament in the value and utility of the institution, increased from year to year. When some new work of unusual character was projected, or taken in hand, there were objectors who saw in it some terrible job. The compilation of a universal Catalogue of Art Books was a case in point. It is a work of some magnitude, and the following extracts from memoranda, dated 22nd January, 1870, on the subject, may be suitably inserted here.

"1. On the 5th April, 1864, I had the honour to submit the following Memorandum to the Lord President of the Council (the Earl Granville, K.G.), and the Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education (the Right Hon. H. A. Bruce, M.P.), who were pleased to approve of the proposal.

"1. Instead of making the Catalogues for the Art Library and the educational and other scientific divisions of the South Kensington Museum dependent upon the accidental collection of works, I recommend that measures be taken for forming a Catalogue of all those works in the languages of all countries, which ought, if possible, to be found in the respective divisional libraries.

"2. To do this, it would be necessary to search the Catalogues of the British Museum, the Bodleian and other British libraries, as well as the libraries of continental Europe and the United States.

"3. The proposed Catalogues would therefore represent certain classes of literature tolerably complete up to a given date.

"4. Such Catalogues being once printed, would supersede the necessity for the editions at present constantly recurring.

"5. By indicating in the Catalogues the works as they are obtained, the deficiencies of the collection, as well as its possessions, would always be patent.

"6. Such Catalogues would be useful in all libraries, and to

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Minute on  
New Cata-  
logue of Art  
Books.

students in all parts of the world, and would in the end prove more economical and much more useful than the present system.

"This recommendation is based on a suggestion of Mr. Dilke's, made in the 'Athenæum' before 1851. (Mr. Dilke died in 1864.)

"At a Board Meeting, 12th October, 1865, a minute was passed in which it was determined that :

"The New Catalogue shall include not only the books in the Library, but all books printed and published, at the date of the issue of the Catalogue, that could be required to make the Library perfect ; that is, to compile a universal record of printed Art books which are known to exist up to that period, wherever they may happen to be at the time.

"It is obvious that immediate perfection cannot be expected in such a work, and that many deficiencies, errors, and imperfections must constantly be met with. It is therefore proposed, by means of occasional supplements, to rectify them, and to add notices of any books not brought to light at the time of issue, as well as of such further publications as continue to appear.

"By reference to the proposed Catalogue, any reader in the Art Library of the Museum, would thus find a clue, not only to the works he was looking for in the actual collections of the Library, but to other works bearing on his course of studies which had not as yet been obtained, but which had been ascertained to form part of other libraries, whether public or not, either in our own or in any foreign country. All rare books would have a reference given to the libraries in which they are to be found. By this means also the deficiencies of the Art Library would be demonstrated, and provision made for its ultimate completion.

"Such a Catalogue, it is thought, would prove a valuable acquisition to Art literature throughout the world, and would have such an international interest as to justify Her Majesty's Government in inviting the co-operation of other Governments towards its accomplishment.

"The nature, however, of such an undertaking, entails difficulties partly inherent, as having reference to the proper limits of the special subject-matter of the Catalogue itself, and partly from the scattered position of libraries and collections, many of them unfurnished with any trustworthy and attainable account, either



printed or manuscript, of their own contents, from which the Catalogue, so far as it refers to books not in the South Kensington Library, must of necessity be compiled.

"2. Accordingly, the materials for the titles of the books have been obtained, with the uniformly courteous assistance of the Librarians, from the Catalogues of the Libraries of the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Trinity College, Dublin, Royal Society, London, London Institution, Royal Institute of British Architects, London Library, the Athenæum, Soane Museum, the Cicognara Collection, and numerous Foreign Libraries, together with those in the National Art Library at the South Kensington Museum. These materials have been enriched by notices which have been furnished from time to time, and received from the commencement of the Catalogue to the close of 1869, from upwards of 400 correspondents in different parts of the world. The following return will show the various languages in which titles of books have been received, towards the completion of the Catalogue :—

Danish	.	.	.	.	.	.	7
Dutch	.	.	.	.	.	.	96
English	.	.	.	.	.	.	2,575
French	.	.	.	.	.	.	7,935
German	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,348
Italian	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,786
Japanese	.	.	.	.	.	.	2
Latin	.	.	.	.	.	.	721
Polish	.	.	.	.	.	.	179
Spanish	.	.	.	.	.	.	60
Swedish	.	.	.	.	.	.	85
<hr/>							
Total	.	.	.	.	.	.	14,794

"Instead of waiting for years before printing the titles in course of being collected, it was decided to publish portions of the Catalogue in 'Notes and Queries,' as *proofs*. This

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Materials  
obtained  
from Cata-  
logues of  
various  
Libraries.

Portions to  
be published  
in "Notes  
and  
Queries."

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Publication  
of Catalogue  
in "Times."

work must therefore only be judged as one subject to future revision, condensation, and additions. There is no doubt that a mass of information has been obtained through this mode of publication, which would have been impossible except by some such process."<sup>1</sup>

No mention is made in the foregoing, of the publication in the "Times" of the proof sheets of the Catalogue, an incident of no inconsiderable moment at the time. My father desired to give the greatest publicity to the undertaking, in order to obtain corrections and additions for the work before it should be printed in a book form, and the managers of the "Times" acceded to his application to them for assistance in the matter. The political heads of the Department sanctioned the proceeding. On the 8th and 14th May, a whole page of the "Times," containing a commencement of titles, under letter A, of books on Art of all periods and countries, appeared.

Mr. Dillwyn, M.P.

The columns of book-titles attracted notice particularly from Mr. Dillwyn, M.P.—always a sceptic in respect of South Kensington and its proceedings—who plied Lord Robert Montagu (the Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education) with a series of questions in the House of Commons, on the 14th May. Was the publication authorized? What was the object of it, &c.? Further questions on the 17th May, were asked in the House by Mr. W. H. Gregory, who suggested that the South Kensington department was playing into the hands of the "Times." In compliance with the evident intention of these questions, the Lord President had directed on the 15th May, that the further publication of the Catalogue in the "Times,"<sup>2</sup> should be suspended. Arrangements were

Mr. Gregory, M.P.

<sup>1</sup> See Parliamentary Paper, "Universal Art Catalogue," ordered to be printed, 13th June, 1867.

<sup>2</sup> A leader in the "Times" on the 17th May, 1867, concludes as follows:—"As far as regards this jour-



subsequently made for the Catalogue to be published through the medium of "Notes and Queries."

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ment of Art  
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#### DEVELOPMENT OF ART COLLECTIONS.

IV. A memorandum upon the principles which should apply to the development of the Art Collections of the Museum, was prepared by Mr. Cole in 1863. Some sections—the Mediæval Art of Italy, for instance—were well represented. It was therefore recommended that

"Future purchases be confined to objects wherein fine art is applied to some purpose of utility, and that works of fine art not so applied should only be admitted as exceptions, and so far as they may tend directly to improve art applied to objects of utility. The decorative art of all countries should be represented. Second-rate works should only be acquired as substitutes until better works be obtained. Where the taste of the age or country has been low, few specimens only will be necessary. Original works are to be obtained as far as possible, but where this would seem to be impracticable, the system hitherto pursued of representing the finest known examples by electrotypes, casts, and drawings will be followed, it being always kept in mind that the aim of the Museum is to make the historical and geographical series of all decorative art complete, and fully to illustrate human taste and ingenuity."

From this date the Museum began acquiring reproductions of objects of art, and a system, first-rate in its importance to the formation of art museums generally, was established. Amongst the more notable of the reproductions, that of the Bayeux Tapestry—or, more properly speaking, embroidery—may be signalized, and in connection with

Reproduction  
of  
Bayeux  
Tapestry.

nal, we need only add that the publication of the Catalogue in our columns, which could never be profitable, is at this season of the year especially inconvenient, and that if the House of

Commons will take the task off our hands by requiring the Department to cease from its enterprise, it will earn our sincere thanks."

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Part I.  
International  
Exchange of  
Copies of  
Works of  
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it the quotation of a letter from Mr. Carlyle may be interesting.<sup>1</sup>

# INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE OF COPIES OF WORKS OF FINE ART.

V. In 1864, Mr. Cole drew up a memorandum upon the International Exchange of Copies of Works of Fine Art. It commenced thus:—

"1. The collections of the South Kensington Museum now possess many examples of works of fine art executed in various kinds of materials, which are unique for their beauty, excellence and variety. 2. In like manner, most of the art museums of the Continent contain similar works. 3. Such objects must always remain permanently as national treasures of the respective countries possessing them. 4. Although the originals cannot be acquired various modes of reproduction are now matured and employed such as electrotyping, photography, elastic moulding, &c., whereby

<sup>1</sup> "5, Cheyne Row, Chelsea,  
"20th May, 1873.

"DEAR COLE,

"I went yesterday with two companions for a look at your Bayeux Tapestry in the Albert Hall, and I cannot but express to you at once my very great contentment with what I saw there. The enterprise was itself a solid, useful, and creditable thing; and the execution of it seems to me a perfect success—certainly far exceeding all the expectations I have entertained about it. Mr. Froude, who was one of my companions, was full of admiration; and a brother of mine, who had seen the tapestry itself at Bayeux last year, seemed to think that this copy you had managed to make (I hope in a *permanent* and easily *repeatable* manner) was superior in vivid clearness, beauty of colour, &c., to the very original. Nothing amiss in any part of the series did I notice, or suspect, except perhaps, in one part of

the series, the Funeral of King Edward preceding his Death; which is a point you can easily examine, and if wrong, put right.

"As the work is in essence photographic, I flatter myself you have preserved the negative and other apparatus whereby the thing can be completely repeated as often as you like, and at moderate expense—in which case it might, with evident and great advantage, be imparted in the same complete form to all British large towns, British colonies, and even in America itself would be precious to every inquiring and every cultivated mind. In a word, I am much obliged to you for sending me to see this feat of yours (by far the reasonable in completeness of its kind yet known to me), and very much obliged, above all, for your having done it, and so done it.

"Yours truly, with many thanks,  
(Signed) "T. CARLYLE."

\* Mr. Carlyle's  
letter on the  
Bayeux  
Tapestry.



admirable substitutes may be obtained with perfect security to the originals."

These points, more fully developed, were adopted as the bases of a minute passed by Lord Granville and Mr. Bruce, which was circulated through the Foreign Office to Her Majesty's ministers abroad. Foreign museums were invited to exchange copies of their catalogues with the South Kensington Museum.

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#### INTERNATIONAL ART INVENTORY COMMENCED.

VI. Numerous catalogues from abroad were received in response; but it was found that little or no information had been gleaned in respect of monuments or collections in the treasuries of cathedrals, churches, monasteries, &c. It was, therefore, suggested by Mr. Cole that an universal inventory of objects dispersed in churches, public buildings, and such like, should be undertaken, and arrangements were sanctioned for the prosecution of this work. In the course of ten years, four parts relating to works of art, mosaics, and stained glass, goldsmiths' work, enamels and ivories, metal work, bronze, brass, copper, and lead, foreign monumental brasses, ironwork, woodwork, sculpture in marble, alabaster, and stone were published. The work was edited by Mr. Cole, who offered to continue it after his resignation in 1873; but his offer was declined, and the compilation carried no further, notwithstanding that much matter for inventories of textile fabrics, painting, &c., had been collected. The utility of these inventories, both for noting objects worth reproducing, for supplying students and others with a consultable work important in facilitating the study of the history of art, is too obvious to require comment. Foreign governments have adopted the idea, and are acting upon it in a systematic manner in respect of their National Art Treasures.

Inter-  
national  
Art Inven-  
tory com-  
menced,

and progress  
suspended.

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Indian  
architecture.

### INDIAN ARCHITECTURE.

VII. In November, 1866, Mr. Cole paid special attention to the representation in the Museum, of Indian Architecture and decorative carving, and from this time, many casts of types of Indian architecture, Buddhist, Hindu, Mohammedan, &c., were obtained. Sir Stafford Northcote, who was Secretary of State for India at the commencement of this work, warmly sympathized with the object my father was desirous of attaining, and the Government of India recognized its importance.

### PUBLIC EDUCATION, PRIMARY AND SECONDARY.

Public edu-  
cation,  
primary and  
secondary.

VIII. During the vice-presidentship of Lord Robert Montagu, Mr. Cole was invited to submit to him a few notes on Public Education, which were merely "brief suggestions for maintaining and improving the then existing arrangements," rather than proposals "for any new or comprehensive plan." The headings of these notes are somewhat as follows:—Under Elementary Education: Payments on results for reading, writing, and ciphering should be made without conditions as to the employment of certificated teachers. Such conditions being removed, State aid could be easily extended to all schools throughout the country, and a partial if not perfect system of national education would be possible without disturbance to the existing voluntary system. The status of a certificated teacher might be recognized as advantageous to the possessor of it, by (a) a low registration fee, whether employed or not; (b) an augmentation grant, when employed; and (c) a capitation grant, for the attendance and good order of his school. All idle vagrants under twelve, should be sent to the union schools, and the parents be compelled to pay towards their teaching. A *permissive* local rating bill would be very desirable; "it exists already for libraries, art schools, and



museums, why not for primary instruction?" Measures might be usefully taken to induce the children of *all* classes of society, to attend elementary schools. Under Secondary or Technical Instruction, he recommended that—

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Instruction.

"The managers of elementary schools be free to establish classes for teaching science through certificated teachers, and that payments on results be made to them, and that all fears of competition with elementary education be ignored."

"If effective measures can be taken to deal with the funds and management of the old free and common grammar schools, the teaching of art and science might be usefully introduced into them."

The State might, with advantage, establish at the cost of a few thousand pounds, professorships with prizes, and perhaps scholarships for science, at Eton, Harrow, Rugby, &c., as well as at the universities. Four establishments should be formed in the nature of training colleges for teaching practical science.

"Public libraries, galleries, and museums should be viewed as the highest instruments of public instruction. Full labels, inventories, and catalogues should be prepared as well for the learned as the unlearned visitor."

Both on religious and moral grounds, Mr. Cole recommended,—

Opening of  
museums on  
Sunday.

"That arrangements be made as at Kew Gardens and Museum, Hampton Court, and Greenwich Picture Galleries, to admit the public to national institutions on Sunday afternoons."

Public libraries and museums, supported in the main by public funds, should be placed, for reasons of efficiency and economy, under a minister of the Crown. Boards of numerous members are obstructive for executive management, though useful for counsel. The institutions specially referred to in this respect, were the British Museum, the National Gallery, National Portrait Gallery, Patent Museum,

Public libraries and museums under a minister of the Crown.

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A Minister  
of Public  
Instruction.

in London ; also the National Gallery and Royal Irish Academy in Dublin, and the National Gallery in Edinburgh. In conclusion, he summed up the general principles of administration thus :—

“ I consider that elementary education, secondary or technical instruction, the management of public libraries, galleries, and museums, and all the votes for education, science, and art, should be concentrated in the administration of them, so far as the expenditure of public funds at least is concerned, under the sole authority of the same minister of the Crown. This Minister of Public Instruction ought not, I think, to be the Lord President of the Council. The work is ample enough to engage the sole attention of a minister who, I venture to say, ought to rank as a Secretary of State. He would sit in either House, according to the circumstances of the Cabinet. There should be an under secretary also in Parliament.

“ In my opinion, the present work at the Privy Council office, with all the calls for charters, health, cattle plague, quarantine, &c., made upon the attention of the Lord President, make it impossible for that high functionary to devote sufficient time to numerous questions involved in public instruction, viewed comprehensively.

“ To enlarge elementary education, making it truly national, to reform educational charities, to increase technical instruction throughout the United Kingdom ; to reorganize the British Museum, the National Gallery, the National Portrait Gallery, &c., so as make them work efficiently and harmoniously together, are functions which ought not, I conceive, to be treated as of secondary importance to any others.”

This document is dated 27th November, 1867. In the previous year my father had written an article for the “ Edinburgh Review,” upon “ Irresponsible Boards,” extracts from which the editor has kindly permitted me to print in Vol. II., p. 309.

Irresponsible  
Boards.



SCHOLARSHIPS ESTABLISHED BY SIR JOSEPH  
WHITWORTH.

IX. Reverting, however, to Mr. Cole's connection with technical instruction, mention may be made of the establishment by Sir Joseph Whitworth, of thirty scholarships of the annual value of £100 each, to be applied (as stated in his letter of the 18th March, 1868, to the Right Hon. Benjamin Disraeli, M.P.) for the future instruction of young men, natives of the United Kingdom, selected by open competition for their intelligence and proficiency in the theory and practice of mechanics and its cognate sciences. In reference to this, a note in the Diary for the 6th December, 1867, runs thus: "Mr. Whitworth called; asked me to prepare a scheme for his leaving £100,000 to promote technical education, and to see MacDonald and discuss it with him." And, again, on the 1st March, 1868: "Started from Manchester in a snow-storm with J. Whitworth, Reed,<sup>1</sup> and Smiles,<sup>2</sup> to Darley Dale, where Whitworth has brought together a property worth over £120,000. It includes the famous Darley Dale stone quarry. He has laid out the rocks and grounds, and is about to build a house. He showed us lms cattle and dairy and stallion, all as good as possible. It is a most lovely spot, and we spent the day walking about. Reed full of ships, Whitworth of his guns, I of scientific education. Scheming with Whitworth before dinner as to endowment. He wished some preference to be given to Lancashire, Yorkshire, Nottingham, Derby, and Leicester. Came to my room early to tell me of this plan, which I was to put on paper. He would write to Dizzy, and get me to take the letter, as his agent, and give explanations." The next morning "Whitworth met me coming

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established  
by Sir  
Joseph  
Whitworth.

Endowment  
for scholar-  
ships.

<sup>1</sup> Sir E. J. Reed, M.P., formerly  
Chief Constructor of the Navy.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Samuel Smiles, author of  
"Self-Help."

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down, and said, 'I have been considering, and my plan won't do.' 'We must get the best men.' I gave him a plan on his first idea, and he wished for another; and gave him one after breakfast." Again, on the 18th: "With Donnelly, to dine with Whitworth, and to discuss his scholarships. Whitworth would establish thirty, to be obtained in open competition for promoting studies in mechanics and the cognate sciences. We were three hours settling the letter, and did not leave till 12.45. Whitworth was to take the letter himself to Disraeli." About a week afterwards, "Donnelly brought Whitworth's letter about his scholarships, which Disraeli had sent to the Duke (of Marlborough), and passed on to me." Minutes were then passed for the regulation of the competition for these scholarships, which since then has been conducted by the Department of Science and Art as part of its scheme of annual local examinations.

#### EMPLOYMENT OF ROYAL ENGINEERS AS CIVIL SERVANTS.

Employ-  
ment of  
Royal En-  
gineers as  
civil ser-  
vants.

X. The employment of members of the corps of Royal Engineers as civil servants of the Crown, was a subject bearing in a marked manner upon the Department at South Kensington, and in November, 1869, circumstances induced Mr. Cole to draw up a memorandum about it, which he brought before the Lord President, and other members of the Government. Extracts from it are given in Vol. II., p. 323. Incidentally, he had expressed some of his views in this respect, in his paper upon "Army Reform," alluded to hereafter in the chapter upon the Society of Arts.

#### FOREIGN TOURS. REPORT ON CONSERVATOIRE DES ARTS ET MÉTIERS.

Foreign  
tours. Re-  
port on

XI. He wrote various reports upon his official journeys abroad; as for instance, upon the *Conservatoire des Arts et*



*Métiers*, in Paris, an institution he visited in company with the late Captain Fowke, in 1865, in obedience to the instruction of the Lord President, to "examine into the relations which exist between the *Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers* and system of French patents." This report is published in Appendix M of the 12th Annual Report of the Science and Art Department. In 1869, with Colonel Scott, R.E., he reported upon "Mosaic Pictures for Wall Decorations," after visiting Venice, Ravenna, Rome, Naples, Palermo. An interesting series of reproductions of mosaics, dating from the 1st century, resulted from this journey, and is exhibited in the South Kensington Museum. The Report was published in the 16th Annual Report of the Department.

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toire des  
Arts et  
Métiers.

Report on  
mosaics.

on le

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#### METROPOLITAN MUSEUMS.

XII. In 1865, when Lord Granville and Mr. Bruce were Lord President and Vice-President of the Council, a meeting was held to consider the question of the establishment of Metropolitan Museums. One for Bethnal Green was the first to be undertaken. Its special purpose was to be the exhibition of the Collection of Food and Animal Produce with the allied industries, a section which was gradually becoming overcrowded in the parent Museum at South Kensington. A principle in the scheme of Metropolitan Museums was, that each should have a distinguishing characteristic, and not degenerate into merely second-rate *replicas* of earlier established National Museums in the metropolis. The establishment of the Bethnal Green Museum, took many years to accomplish. Its history is set forth in a return of correspondence which was laid before Parliament in 1872. A Minister in authority was reported to have set his face against any grant for the maintenance of such a Museum, and ignoring all that former

Metropolitan  
Museums.

Food Collec-  
tion.

Bethnal  
Green  
Branch  
Museum.

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Opposition  
of the  
Treasury.

Opening of  
Museum.

Governments had done in favour of the principle, decided "not to give a shilling to make it one of King Cole's Hens and Chickens." On the other hand, when the controversy with the Treasury as to ways and means for the Museum, ran high, Mr. W. E. Forster (Vice-President of the Council) said to my father, "You will have Museums all over the country, and increased grants for purchases, and I shall welcome such a result." But immediately previous to the opening, further difficulties arose with the Treasury, who were averse to sanctioning a proposed expenditure of £500 to prepare the Museum for the opening ceremonial.

It was well known that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales had been invited, and had consented to formally open the Museum on behalf of Her Majesty the Queen; that the Lord Chamberlain's Department was engaged in framing the "Proceedings" for the occasion; that the thousands of inhabitants in the East-end, were dressing their shop and house fronts with flags, hangings, garlands, and mottoes of welcome; that the local authorities, who had found the ground for the Museum, were straining their utmost to mark the event as one of public rejoicing, bestirring themselves in the matter of guards of honour, reception committees, and so forth; still the Treasury maintained their opposition to the very last. At length they were compelled to give way. Accounts of the brilliant success of the inauguration of a new Museum in the midst of one of the most crowded of the artisan districts of London, appeared in the newspapers of the 25th June, 1872.

#### LOCAL PROVINCIAL MUSEUMS OF ART.

Local  
Provincial  
Museums.  
Museum at  
Notting-  
ham.

XIII. Whilst the foundation of the Bethnal Green as a new "National" Museum was in progress, the idea of establishing a "local" Museum to be administered by the municipality at Nottingham, arose. The town had for many years



possessed a flourishing and large School of Art, but there was no Art Museum. In respect of this latter, the late Mr. W. G. Ward, of Nottingham, applied to Mr. Cole for advice in 1871. On the 15th January, 1872, he addressed a letter upon the subject to Mr. Ward, who was then Mayor of Nottingham. It began thus:—

"The Lord President of the Council having instructed me to be in town on Tuesday, to attend the summons of certain members of the Government, I have to inform you with regret that I am unable to fulfil the engagement which the Marquis of Ripon had permitted me to accept, of distributing the Prizes to the students of the Nottingham School of Art. I request you, therefore, to make this apology for my absence to the committee and the students of the School of Art. I had accepted the duty with pleasure, not so much because I should have had the opportunity of congratulating the town of Nottingham on possessing one of the very best Schools of Art in the country, but because I should have been enabled to prove that the town must adopt further measures for maintaining this position, and extending the influence and advantages of a Museum of Science and Art, especially illustrative of those industries which have given Nottingham the eminent position it holds among the great manufacturing centres of the United Kingdom. I think I should have been able to show that if Nottingham does not establish such a Museum, the fault will not rest with Parliament or Her Majesty's Government, or the administration of the votes for Science and Art, but solely with the town."

He then proceeds to explain certain official conditions under which the Department at South Kensington could give aid in promoting the formation of such a Museum, and concludes:—

"The prosperity of a town depends on its manufactures, which themselves depend upon the knowledge and application of principles of Science and Art. These principles must be demonstrated by practical examples, as they are comparatively unfruitful without them. Such a Museum would provide the examples. It would educate not merely your young men and women. It is the only means of educating the adult who has passed the period of

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Letter from  
Mr. Cole on  
proposed  
Museum at  
Nottingham.

XXXX

Principles  
demonstrated  
by example  
rather than  
examples  
leading to  
principles

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Opening of  
temporary  
Museum at  
Nottingham.

Conversion  
of Notting-  
ham Castle  
into a  
Museum.

Opening by  
Prince of  
Wales.

attending school. It would teach the young child to respect property and behave gently. It is the chief means by which the knowledge and the aspirations for excellence of the workmen, the manager, the manufacturer, the capitalist, and the consumer are all led to work in harmony for successful results."

The following March, Mr. Cole went down to Nottingham. "In the afternoon (of the 10th March) with the Mayor and Mr. Hine, the Duke of Newcastle's agent, over the Castle which was burnt down in Reform riots. Mr. Hine would recommend it should be used as a Museum of Science and Art, and put in order. It would make a splendid work."<sup>1</sup> The Corporation had decided to commence with a temporary Museum with loans from South Kensington, in the Town Hall. This was opened on the 20th May (1872), by the Town Council and the Mayor, when speeches were made, and amongst them one by Mr. Cole. The possible conversion of the Castle into a Museum, was mooted by two or three of the speakers and received with applause. After the ceremony was over, Mr. Cole went to the "Castle with the Mayor and the Town Clerk (Mr. Johnson). The site is admirable for a Museum."<sup>1</sup> The following year Mr. Cole accepted an invitation to distribute the prizes to the students of the Nottingham School of Art. There was a very large attendance, and much interest manifested in the plan for establishing a permanent Municipal Museum at the Castle. Mr. Cole's speech is printed at p. 339, Vol. II. In the course of the succeeding five years, the contemplated conversion of the Castle was effected, mainly through the untiring exertions of the late Mr. Ward, whose untimely and sudden death occurred on the 15th June, 1878. On the 3rd July, 1878, the "Midland Counties Art Museum, Nottingham Castle," was opened by their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales.

<sup>1</sup> Diary.



## MR. COLE'S RESIGNATION.

XIV. Mr. Cole had, on the 4th December, 1871, handed in his resignation to Lord Ripon (the Lord President). On the next day, however, a letter from the Treasury was received at South Kensington, by which it was endeavoured to fasten upon him (Mr. Cole) the blame for the defalcations of the professional Accountant.<sup>1</sup> He, therefore, at once asked Lord Ripon to allow his resignation to be held in abeyance, until the question as to who was to blame had been disposed of. Thus he did not actually retire until April, 1873.

<sup>1</sup> See the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons on Public Accounts, published 13 May, 1872.

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resignation.





## ROYAL ALBERT HALL AND NATIONAL TRAINING SCHOOL FOR MUSIC.

### PART I.

1858-1873.

#### I.

ROYAL  
ALBERT  
HALL AND  
NATIONAL  
TRAINING  
SCHOOL FOR  
MUSIC.

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1858-1873.  
Part I.  
Royal Al-  
bert Hall.

**R**EFERENCE has already been made to a project, conceived by my father as early as 1858, for building a great hall upon the estate of H. M. Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851; and although this chapter was originally to have been devoted to an account of the founding of the National Training School for Music, a short relation of the steps by which the projected Hall advanced to a reality, may perhaps be appropriately given here—since one of the principal purposes of the proposed hall was the advancement of music.

A "Chorus  
Hall Com-  
pany" sug-  
gested.

II. Whilst abroad in 1858, Mr. Cole drew up a prospectus of a "Chorus Hall Company," with a capital of £150,000 to be raised by life subscriptions and shares of the value of £5 each. The company was "to erect a public hall of much larger size than any existing in this country." It was to be devoted to popular uses, such as musical performances, exhibitions, flower shows, &c., and was to have been inaugurated in connection with the



International Exhibition of 1862. But financial considerations stood in the way of its construction at that time (see pages 242 and 243 of this volume), and the idea had to be abandoned.

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MUSIC.

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A great Hall  
as part of  
National  
Memorial  
to Prince  
Consort.

III. After the death of the Prince Consort, a Committee appointed by the Queen, recommended that a great central Hall of Arts and Sciences should form part of the National Memorial to H.R.H. "At one of the last interviews I had with the Prince in 1861, standing near the very spot where the Royal Albert Hall now is," writes my father, "H.R.H. expressed his hopes that some day there should be built a central Hall of Arts and Sciences." On the 9th June, 1862, Mr. Cole went to Windsor, and the following memorandum of his visit, is, with the permission of Her Majesty the Queen, here given:—

"Left Witley by 8.56 train to Waterloo; by Windsor train at 10.50. Windsor at 12.30. Grey showed me the printed report of the architects invited by Lord Derby's Committee to suggest nature of Memorial to the Prince. It recommended a Personal Memorial of Sculpture in Hyde Park, facing the Conservatory of Horticultural Society and the commencement of a Hall for Science and Art. Grey also showed me Eastlake's letters and a letter from the Prince to Lord Granville, when Lord Mayor Challis proposed a memorial to him. The Queen sent down to ask when I proposed to go back to town, and then to say she would see me about two. Grey and I went up to the Prince's room. His hat and gloves were laid out in the accustomed way, and his desk table looked just as it used to do. The Queen came in—looked calm and collected. Asked me if I thought the suggestion for the Memorial was practical. Said she had no taste—used only to listen to him—not worthy to untie his latchet—when the 'Times' objected to his having a statue, the Prince himself

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said he ought not to have one in his lifetime. She said she was much struck with his remark, and felt the solemnity of it. Talked over the buildings at South Kensington—thought the Exhibition buildings ought not to come down—it would be a pity! Gladstone did not think the refusal of his British Museum Bill of much importance. The Queen thought the Prince had taken his fever from the Horticultural Gardens. He was as much interested in them as in the Exhibition of 1851. Indeed, during the last year, she scarcely had any of his company. He was always at the Horticultural Gardens. She wished that all the local Memorials to him should be recorded on a brass plate in the Hall—wished me to ascertain what they were—but I suggested that Lord Derby's Committee should do it, and the Queen approved. She also wished that the site of the Exhibition of 1851 should be marked by four stones as the Prince recommended in his letter to Lord Granville. This letter was to be printed with the Prince's memorandum read at Osborne in 1851."

Raising of  
capital for  
building of  
Hall.

IV. Now, the subscriptions to erect the Personal Memorial being insufficient to cover the cost of the Hall, my father set himself to consider how some £250,000 (the probable cost of the Hall) could be raised; and in November, 1863, drew up a prospectus. This he sent to General Grey, who soon after told him that Her Majesty approved of it. He accordingly commenced to canvass privately for support. General Grey did the same. The capital was to be raised by the allotment of "perpetual or freehold admissions,"—"transferable" or "saleable" to subscribers of £100 each. Amongst the first of the supporters were Earl Granville and the late Sir Titus Salt, Sir Anthony de Rothschild (who agreed to be a trustee), Mr. Thomas Baring, M.P., and Mr. George Moffatt (hon. treasurers), and Messrs. Coutts (bankers). By the end of 1864,



H.R.H. the Prince of Wales had given his name as president, and the list of vice-presidents included over fifty distinguished names of members of the royal family, peers, ministers, members of the House of Commons, presidents of scientific and artistic bodies.

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Architec-  
tural style  
for the Hall.

V. The question as to architectural style for the great Hall, was under consideration during 1864, and many looked to Mr. (afterwards Sir) G. Gilbert Scott as the right man to be commissioned to design the Hall as part of the National Memorial to the Prince Consort. 5th March, 1864 :

"G. G. Scott came and talked over the Memorial Hall. I asked him if he would design the outside and be one of a Committee for the inside. For outside he should have two votes, for inside one only—Fowke, Redgrave, and myself to be his colleagues. He preferred the oblong to the round—inclined to an early Gothic treatment with a tinge of Byzantine."<sup>1</sup> Mr. Cole determined, however, to adhere to a Coliseum-like treatment for the Hall itself—the designs for the interior of which were entrusted to Captain Fowke. Towards the end of the year, he and Mr. Cole visited Nismes and Arles to see the Roman amphitheatres there. Upon their return, Captain Fowke set to work upon further plans, and a model, in which the arrangement of arena, amphitheatre, tiers of boxes, with an arcaded corridor or picture gallery crowning the interior, was shown. With some modifications, the leading ideas of his model have been adopted in the present building of the Royal Albert Hall.

Mr. Gilbert  
Scott.

Captain  
Fowke.

Visit to see  
Roman am-  
phitheatres  
at Arles and  
Nismes.

VI. On the 29th January, 1865, Mr. Cole and Mr. Redgrave attended at Osborne by command of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. General Grey and Sir Charles Phipps were also present, when Mr. Cole laid before His Royal Highness a copy of a printed announcement

Scheme,  
plan, and  
models sub-  
mitted to  
the Prince  
of Wales.

<sup>1</sup> Diary.

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Investments  
in sittings in  
proposed  
Hall.

of the proposed Albert Hall of Arts and Sciences, which had been circulated confidentially to a limited number of persons. This document showed that upwards of seventy persons of eminence had signified their willingness to act as vice-presidents of the Hall, or as officers in various capacities, if invited to do so by the proprietors of the Hall. Mr. Cole submitted to His Royal Highness a ground plan showing the proposed site of the Hall, a drawing prepared by Mr. Gilbert Scott, R.A., of the entrance building to the Hall proposed to face the Memorial to the Prince Consort,<sup>1</sup> which he had designed, and a model of the interior of the Hall, which Captain Fowke, R.E., had prepared. After hearing explanatory details of the proposed buildings from Mr. Redgrave and Mr. Cole, His Royal Highness was pleased to express his approval of the elevation and model, and a desire to see them executed. Mr. Cole then reported that all whom he had personally invited to take investments in sittings, had agreed to do so, and he mentioned several persons who had each expressed a willingness to take ten sittings in the

<sup>1</sup> With reference to the site of the Prince Consort's Memorial, I find the following note by my father.

*Site of the Prince Consort's  
Monument.*

I believe this was suggested by General Grey, as overlooking the South Kensington estate, and also being the westward extremity of the Great Exhibition of 1851, both institutions due to the Prince. It was said that Lord Palmerston declared he had heard from the Queen, that Her Majesty had sent for me and asked my opinion: that I had pointed out this site as the intersecting point of two straight lines, one drawn through the site of the '51 Exhibition, the other through the Royal

Horticultural Gardens: that the Queen instantly accepted the idea, and called it a "revelation from Providence." If Lord Palmerston told this story, it was most likely his own invention. I am not aware that I even discussed the site with General Grey or any one. Possibly when General Grey talked to me, I concurred in the propriety of the present site, and he may have spoken of my concurrence. The selection of Gilbert Scott's design was virtually made, I believe, by the Princess Royal, after Lord Derby's Commission had reported in favour of another design. I wrote two short papers pointing out my objections to this design, as not suitable for an out-of-doors treatment.



proposed Hall, of the value of one hundred pounds each sitting; others who would take five sittings, others three sittings, others one and two sittings. Mr. Cole stated that his inquiries led him to believe that societies, like the Sacred Harmonic Society, the Society of Arts, the Art Union of London, would connect themselves with the use of the Hall. His Royal Highness agreed that the time had now come when he might give every assistance in his power towards the execution of the work, and decided to summon to Marlborough House, a meeting of all the persons mentioned in the announcement, to receive a communication as to the further steps which it might be considered necessary to take.

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VII. After this, the prospectus of the Hall was amplified. In it a full description was given of the building, which was to be a spacious amphitheatre of nearly the same proportions as that at Nismes, but somewhat smaller. It was to be about 320 feet long by 200 feet wide, and 100 feet high. It was to consist of an arena and an amphitheatre (like the ancient *Manianum*), with two tiers of private boxes (being the ancient *Podium*). Above the boxes, there would be a corridor thirty feet wide, lighted from the top, affording space for the exhibition of pictures and sculpture, and for a spacious promenade. Access to and egress from the building, would be amply provided for by numerous separate entrances and staircases (like the ancient *Vomitoria*), nine feet wide. Plans and a model were placed on view in the contractor's offices at the Prince Consort's Memorial in Hyde Park.

Hall de-  
scribed in  
original  
prospectus.

VIII. H.R.H. the Prince of Wales presided at the "First Meeting of the Provisional Committee" of the "Royal Hall of Arts and Sciences," on the 13th July, 1865, after which date, it may be said, that the scheme for building the Hall was fairly floated. After Captain Fowke's death at

First meet-  
ing of Pro-  
visional  
Committee  
of Hall.

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General  
Scott.

Advising  
Committee  
of Archi-  
tects.

Contract for  
building.

Foundation  
stone laid.

Great organ  
for Hall.

the end of 1865,<sup>1</sup> General Scott, R.E.,<sup>2</sup> was appointed to the post of architect of the buildings at South Kensington. The erection of Mr. Gilbert Scott's façade for the Hall, had not been found possible within the expenditure contemplated, and an elevation in the Italian Renaissance style had therefore been designed under Captain Fowke's direction. This, with the general scheme for the interior, was used by General Scott. Mr. Reuben Townroe, one of Mr. Sykes' principal assistants, designed and modelled the terra cotta details, so largely employed in the adornment of the present Hall. Mr. Cole, General Scott, and Mr. Townroe used to meet and discuss the modifications of Captain Fowke's designs as circumstances required. The drawings and models, as finally proposed by them, were submitted to the judgment of a committee of architects, consisting of Sir William Tite, M.P., Sir M. Digby Wyatt, Messrs. Fergusson, Fowler, Hawkshaw, and Redgrave, R.A.

IX. By the 3rd April, 1867, estimates for building the Hall for £200,000, were submitted by and accepted from Messrs. Lucas. On the 20th May of that year, Her Majesty the Queen laid the foundation stone, in the presence of some 5,000 spectators. State ceremonial was observed on the occasion.

X. It was not until 1871, that the Great Hall was opened. In the interim, the construction of the great organ by Mr. Willis, was a subject in which my father was highly interested. After his visit to Spain in the spring of 1870, when he had noticed the characteristic arrangement of organ pipes in many of the cathedrals, he suggested that the Albert Hall organ should be similarly treated. The

<sup>1</sup> The Memoir of Captain Fowke, Papers of the Royal Engineers, is re-written by Mr. Cole for the "Corps" printed at p. 349, Vol. II.

<sup>2</sup> General Scott died in 1883.



pipes themselves were, therefore, grouped and displayed with a minimum of framework, as now to be seen.

XI. On the 29th March, H. M. the Queen opened the Royal Albert Hall, an occasion which was at the time, fully described with all the circumstances of the pomp with which it was invested. The musical arrangements were under the direction of Sir Michael Costa, who had given frequent and valuable advice during the construction of the Hall, both as regards its acoustical properties and the size and quality of the great organ. My father notes on the 29th March, 1871: "R. A. Hall opened with success. It had been my aim since 1858, when I made some plans with H. H. Cole."<sup>1</sup>

XII. I may now pass to the foundation of a National Training School for Music. This was the result of a series of incidents, which date from as far back as 1854. In that year, the Directors of the Royal Academy of Music addressed a memorial to Her Majesty's Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851, "praying for the grant of a site on the Kensington Gore estate." Briefly reciting the growth of the Academy since 1822, the Directors showed that the state of the Academy's funds "had not at any period been in a prosperous condition." They had become possessed of a sum of about £4,000, which they could apply to building purposes. They urged their want of a large Music Hall, a Music Library, and rooms for the Exhibition of Musical Instruments, in addition to the rooms for instruction and practice. Provision of space for Music thus formed a place in the Commissioners' scheme for promoting Arts and Sciences; and Music was duly noted by my father as a subject to come under treatment when the opportunity might serve. A Committee of Her Majesty's Commissioners was named to consider the Memorial of the Royal

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State open-  
ing of Hall  
by H.M. the  
Queen.

National  
Training  
School for  
Music.

Royal Aca-  
demy of  
Music and  
H.M. Com-  
missioners.

Provision for  
Music in  
scheme  
drawn up  
by H.M.  
Commis-  
sioners.

<sup>1</sup> Now Major Cole, R.E., Curator of Ancient Buildings in India.

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TRAINING  
SCHOOL FOR  
MUSIC.

A.D.  
1858-1873.  
Part I.

Critical state  
of Royal  
Academy of  
Music.

Society of  
Arts Com-  
mittee on  
Musical  
Education.

Commence-  
ment of  
negotiations  
between  
Royal Aca-  
demy and  
Science and  
Art Depart-  
ment.

Academy of Music ; but nothing of a definite nature came of it.

XIII. Ten years later, however, the Directors of the Academy found that the affairs of their institution were becoming critical, and that immediate measures were necessary. Mr. Cole was aware of this, and determined to make strenuous effort to reform the Academy in its relation to the musical education of the country. He therefore brought the subject before the Society of Arts, in January, 1866, and obtained the appointment of a Committee on Musical Education. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales agreed to be the Chairman of this Committee, provided he should not be called upon "to take part" in the contemplated inquiries into musical education, and that "nothing should be done hostile to the Royal Academy of Music."

XIV. At the same time, Sir George Clerk (a leading Director of the Academy) commenced a correspondence with Mr. Cole, which in due course became official in character, and showed the desire of the Directors that the Science and Art Department should undertake the reform of the Academy. Sir George Clerk writes to inquire there is "any prospect that the Royal Academy of Music may obtain accommodation in some public building, as we must positively quit our present premises at Midsummer and, later, "I have communicated to the Directors the Earl Granville desired to know what changes the Directors would be prepared to accept in the present system of management; and I beg to state that they will cheerfully submit themselves to any improvements which his Lordship may desire." How far the preliminaries to the contemplated improvements were carried, may be inferred from the following notes :—"7th February, 1866, Lord Granville agreed to take Royal Academy of Music into South Kensington Museum if Costa was professional Director ;"<sup>1</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Diary.



again, 13th February, "Sir George Clerk authorized my asking Costa to be Director of Royal Academy of Music;" and, 15th February, "Costa accepted at £1,200 a year and a house."<sup>1</sup> But it appears that the Directors had not plenary powers in regard to the development or reform of the Academy. The professional staff not only claimed to have a voice in the proposed re-arrangement, but asserted themselves in such a way that after some eighteen months' negotiation between the Department of Science and Art and the Royal Academy of Music, it was not found possible for the Department "to accede to the request of the Royal Academy of Music for temporary accommodation at the South Kensington Museum. The changes proposed in the management of that institution, were not of a nature to justify establishing a connection with it, which would have given the public an impression that the Government shared the responsibility for the present action of the Academy."

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Sir Michael  
Costa as  
professional  
director of  
reformed  
institution.

Failure of  
scheme.

XV. During the occurrence of the foregoing, the Society of Arts Committee was holding its meetings and collecting information from competent witnesses, as to musical institutions and means of instruction in this country. Through the Foreign Office, the Committee received a number of valuable returns concerning *conservatoires* and academies of music on the Continent. My father's correspondence with various people, such as Sir Charles Phipps, General Grey, and others, during 1865 and 1866, supply the details of his scheme for enlarging the operations of the Royal Academy, giving its administration a more responsible and public character, bringing it into relation with the central hall of Arts and Sciences (subsequently the Royal Albert Hall), and forming scholarships to be competed for by persons having musical talent throughout the country. These points are detailed in the first Report of the Society of Arts

Action of  
Society of  
Arts.

<sup>1</sup> Diary.

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Further  
attempt of  
Directors of  
Royal Aca-  
demy of  
Music to  
obtain land  
at Kensing-  
ton.

Proposed  
surrender of  
Charter of  
Royal  
Academy.

Mr. Cole on  
Royal Aca-  
demy of  
Music.

Committee, which, drafted by him in June, 1866, was submitted to the Committee, and adopted by them for issue.

XVI. Again the Directors of the Royal Academy made an attempt to secure premises on the estate of Her Majesty's Commissioners at Kensington. They addressed a prayer to Her Majesty the Queen, to accept their surrender of their Charter of Incorporation. In accepting this surrender, General Grey, writing<sup>1</sup> by command of Her Majesty, said that the Queen's regret would be greatly "increased if she thought this step necessarily implied the abandonment of all hope of seeing any successful efforts in future for the development of the musical talent of the country. . . . But Her Majesty would not yet despair, notwithstanding the failure of former efforts, and the dissolution of the present Academy, of seeing some plan matured, bearing, perhaps, more of a national character, and a wider sphere of action, which shall have for its object to encourage a science which commends itself above all others to popular favour, as affording the means of giving pleasure and gratification to the great mass of Her Majesty's subjects." But even in their attempt to clear the way for new action, the Directors of the Royal Academy did not succeed. The formal surrender of the Charter involved expenses, to meet which the Directors had no funds at command. The Professors of the Academy, at this juncture, strained their utmost to save the moribund institution. In the Sixteenth Report of the Science and Art Department, my father writes, that "The Royal Academy of Music appears to have been re-organized, notwithstanding that the Directors had resigned their Charter. It may probably maintain itself as a private institution, and it may be well it should do so. But its constitution will prevent it from becoming a National Training School for Teachers, and for the cul-

<sup>1</sup> To the Earl of Wilton, 14 Jan., 1868.



tivation of natural musical ability, inasmuch as to have such a school the students must be supported by public funds, the administration of which implies responsibility to Parliament. All experience proves that public responsibility and private responsibility cannot work together."

XVII. For a time the Society of Arts remained passive in respect of a National Training School for Music. But in 1869, as the building of the Royal Albert Hall of Arts and Sciences progressed, my father commenced to consider how immediate action might be taken towards accomplishing the object in view. In spite of the successive failures to secure co-operation with the Royal Academy, the idea was still strong in influential quarters, that any new National Academy or School for Music should be, as it were, an outgrowth of the old Royal Academy. "March 5th, 1869, at the Queen's *levée*, discussed Musical Training School with Sir John Pakington<sup>1</sup>,"<sup>2</sup> and soon after, the Committee on Musical Education at the Society of Arts, recommenced its meetings. Lord Dudley, one of the principal Directors of the Royal Academy, was not, at one time, unfavourably inclined to enlarging the old institution, and giving it a character more in keeping with that of a national conservatoire or training school. My father and Sir John Pakington had several discussions with him. They hoped that by the autumn, the opinion of those who had opposed any union of the forces of the Society of Arts with those of the Royal Academy, would have become modified. But Dr. Sterndale Bennett,<sup>3</sup> the then Principal of the Royal Academy, was "so opposed to union with the Society of Arts," that the prospects of any successful issue following from the autumn meeting, grew smaller and smaller. "Lord Dudley and Sterndale Bennett both objected to the Society of Arts' petition praying that the

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Society of  
Arts scheme.

Sir John  
Pakington.

Lord Dud-  
ley.

Dr. Stern-  
dale Ben-  
nett's  
objections.

<sup>1</sup> Now Lord Hampton.

<sup>2</sup> Diary.

<sup>3</sup> Afterwards Sir Sterndale.

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ALBERT  
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SCHOOL FOR  
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Funds raised  
for new Na-  
tional Train-  
ing School  
for Music.

First sub-  
scribers to  
Fund for  
Scholar-  
ships.

Royal Academy should be the foundation of a future institution."<sup>1</sup> August 1st, "Sullivan called; told him that all treaty with the Royal Academy of Music was ended."<sup>1</sup>

XVIII. An endeavour to raise funds for starting the new School of Music, was made by the Society of Arts in 1871, when six concerts were given at the Royal Albert Hall, which was opened that year. Publicity for the proposed new National Training School for Music, was obtained, but the concerts resulted in a loss of about £100 to the Society of Arts. This served to turn Mr. Cole's attention to other methods for raising money to support the new School. In November, whilst on a visit to Lord Carnarvon, my father wrote out a "Scheme of Musical Scholarships," and at once commenced seeking support to it, which was readily granted by Lady Carnarvon, Lady Chesterfield, and others staying at Highclere, who agreed to open subscriptions for scholarships to be competed for by persons of musical ability, in the county or town with which they were particularly identified. A volume of letters which he received during 1871 and 1872, in reply to the requests he made for aid to raise funds for these scholarships, is now deposited in the South Kensington Museum.<sup>2</sup> It was from this commencement, that

<sup>1</sup> Diary.

<sup>2</sup> The following promised assistance:—

Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, M.P.  
Lord and Lady Acton.  
Sir C. B. Adderley, M.P. (now  
Lord Norton), for Staffordshire.  
Miss M. Alderson.  
W. Amherst Tyssen Amhurst.  
Frederick Arrow.  
Thomas Ashton (for Lancashire).  
Mr. T. Bass, M.P. (for Derby-  
shire).  
Sir Thomas Bazley, M.P. (for  
Lancashire).

Hon. and Rev. S. Best.  
Rev. Canon Birch.  
F. J. Bramwell (now Sir).  
R. Bray.  
Mr. and Mrs. Brocklehurst.  
Colin M. Campbell.  
The Archbishop of Canterbury.  
Mrs. (now Lady) Cardwell.  
Earl and Countess of Carnarvon.  
Lady Margaret Cecil.  
Countess of Chesterfield.  
Frederic Clay.  
Mrs. and Miss Cohen.  
Sir Daniel Cooper.  
Mrs. Day.



the plan of founding scholarships for musical education, was eventually developed throughout the country.

XIX. In 1872, His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh consented to join the Musical Committee of the Society of Arts; and at this time, attempts were made to use the scheme of Scholarships as a means of reconciliation between the Directors of the Royal Academy and the National Training School. A public dinner was given at Willis's Rooms, on the 3rd July, when Mr. Cole announced that £5,000 worth of Scholarships could be offered to the Academy, if that institution remodelled its administration. Lord Dudley, who took the chair, in the absence of the Duke of Edinburgh, "spoke for five minutes, and said the

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H.R.H. the  
Duke of  
Edinburgh  
joins Musi-  
cal Com-  
mittee of  
Society of  
Arts.

Lord De l'Isle.  
Countess of Derby.  
Right Hon. M. E. and Mrs. Grant  
Duff.  
Earl and Countess of Essex.  
George Field.  
The Fishmongers' Company.  
Miss Gerard.  
G. Goldney, M.P. (now Sir).  
Earl and Countess Granville.  
T. Hawkshaw.  
John R. Hollond, M.P.  
John Holms, M.P. (Middlesex).  
Mrs. Howard (Cumberland).  
Henry A. Hunt (now Sir).  
Miss Alice Hunt.  
Marquis of Lansdowne.  
John Leslie.  
Lord and Lady Lyttelton.  
J. T. Mackenzie.  
The Duchess of Marlborough.  
George Melly, M.P.  
Samuel Mendel.  
The Mercers' Company.  
Frank Morrison.  
J. Nasmyth.  
Lord Northbrook.  
Right Hon. Sir Stafford Northcote.  
The Duchess of Northumberland.

Sir John and Lady Pakington (Lord  
Hampton).  
Lord Clarence Paget.  
T. Gambier Parry.  
Albert Pell, M.P.  
Mrs. Pender.  
George Plucknett.  
Wyndham S. Portal.  
W. Rathbone (for Lancashire).  
Marquis and Marchioness of Ripon.  
Sir Titus Salt.  
Earl and Countess Somers.  
Earl Spencer.  
Thomas R. Storey.  
Lord and Lady Sydney.  
Christopher Sykes.  
Right Hon. W. Cowper-Temple.  
Miss Thackeray.  
Miss Elizabeth Thackeray.  
Sir George Verdon.  
Earl and Countess of Warwick.  
Louisa, Marchioness of Waterford.  
John Webb.  
G. Wedgwood.  
The Marquis of Westminster (for  
Cheshire), now Duke of.  
Lord and Lady Wharnccliffe.  
The Archbishop of York.

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Negotiations  
renewed  
with Royal  
Academy of  
Music,

and failure  
of them.

Funds for  
building a  
new School.

Royal Academy ought to try and get their £500 grant from Government made £15,000."<sup>1</sup> On the 9th July, "lunched with the Duke of Edinburgh. With His Royal Highness to Royal Academy of Music. Examined their premises. Bennett timid, but agreeable. The Duke invited the directors to meet, and see the accommodation available at the Royal Albert Hall."<sup>1</sup> Three days after this, Lord Dudley and Mr. John Hullah met the Duke of Edinburgh, who was accompanied by Mr. Cole, at the Royal Albert Hall, and went round the building, looking at the rooms which could be made available for the Royal Academy of Music. This informal inspection was preliminary to that made on the 17th July, when His Royal Highness conducted Sir Sterndale Bennett and a number of the Professors of the Royal Academy over the same ground. But, again, these overtures to bring the Royal Academy into harmony with a new scheme, terminated in nothing; for, at the last of the meetings held between the Directors and Professors of the Royal Academy and the Musical Education Committee of the Society of Arts, Sir Sterndale Bennett thanked His Royal Highness for his kindness in having proposed to him the use of rooms in the Royal Albert Hall, and declined the offer, the Professors preferring to remain at Tenterden Street, in their "happy home."

XX. The Society of Arts now named a sub-committee, consisting of the Duke of Edinburgh, Mr. Tufnell, Mr.<sup>2</sup> Freake, Major Donnelly, and Mr. Cole, to consider, amongst other matters, on what terms £20,000 should be raised, for the erection of a building for the new National Training School for Music. The Council of the Society of Arts endorsed the proposals submitted to it by this Committee, and agreed to undertake the collection of funds

<sup>1</sup> Diary.

<sup>2</sup> Now Sir Charles Freake, Bart.



for the Scholarships. Numerous meetings were held during 1874 and 1875, in different parts of the country, to promote the establishment of Scholarships; and my father attended a good many of them. *Ab initio*, it was set forth, that the effort was tentative, inasmuch as the scholarships were to be granted for five years from the opening of the National Training School. At the end, or before the end of that time, the Council expressed the hope that the School would have proved itself worthy of being transferred to the responsible management of the State.

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Meetings  
held to  
promote  
Scholar-  
ships.

XXI. The movement for Scholarships received strength from the announcement that difficulties in finding funds for the erection of the building, had been removed by Mr. C. J. Freake, who said, that "if Her Majesty's Commissioners for the Exhibition would find the ground, he would build the school."<sup>1</sup> A site was granted by the Commissioners, and the preparation of the plans was undertaken by Lieut. H. H. Cole, R.E., who acted as Honorary Architect. "29th April, 1873. Discussed elevation and plan of School." "14th July. Mr. Freake came and signed the Musical Report, saying he would build the School at his own risk. With him to look at the ground."<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Freake  
offers to  
build the  
new School.

XXII. On the 18th December, 1873, His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh laid the first stone of the National Training School, on ground to the west of the Royal Albert Hall, which had been assigned for the School by Her Majesty's Commissioners.

Foundation  
Stone laid.

XXIII. The administrative arrangements were now considered, and a Prospectus of Management was drawn up. This was discussed and revised during the first six months in 1874. It was as follows:—

Administra-  
tion of new  
School.

"1.—The Committee of General Management, under the presidency of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh, consists of

Committee  
of General  
Manage-  
ment.

<sup>1</sup> Diary.

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two members appointed by the Council of the Royal Albert Hall, three members appointed by the Society of Arts, and two by Her Majesty's Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851. It has the general control and superintendence of the School, and the appointments of all its officers.

"2.—The Committee of General Management proposes that when the building of the School and the endowment funds are sufficiently advanced, five members shall be added to its body, representing the founders of scholarships, and subscribers to the scholarships and general school endowments. In the meantime, the Committee of Management will provisionally elect five representatives from the first five towns which shall each found ten scholarships.

"3.—After the first year of the working of the School, these five members will be elected annually by the general body of founders and subscribers. Every £1 of annual subscription to the scholarship or general school fund, will give a subscriber one vote for the year, and every £25 of donation or endowment to the scholarship or general school fund, will give the donor or his representative a vote in perpetuity.

"4.—The conduct of the School will be divided into three distinct sections :—

- (a) General Administration.
- (b) Professional Direction of Studies.
- (c) Examinations.

Registrar.

"5.—THE GENERAL ADMINISTRATION will be conducted by a resident officer, to be called the 'Registrar,' with an Assistant if necessary. He will be charged with the registration and conduct of all correspondence, issue of prospectuses, enrolment of students, superintendence of accounts, compilation of the Examiners' returns of examination ; he will also be responsible for moral discipline ; for correctness of attendances of the Professional Director, Professors, and all other officers and students ; for proper order of the establishment ; for issue of orders for stores, music, instruments, and invitations to concerts, &c. He will also attend all meetings of the General Committee, and call and attend any of the meetings of the Professors which may be held. A Receiver and an Accountant will also be appointed.



"6.—THE DIRECTION of Studies will refer solely to the curriculum prescribed for students, and to the methods of instruction.

"The Committee of General Management will appoint the Director of Studies, to be called the 'Professional Director,' who shall hold his office for one year, but be eligible for re-appointment. He will have the control and superintendence of the courses and methods of instruction, and he will prescribe the text books to be used. He will recommend the Professors for appointment to the General Committee, and intimate to the Registrar when he desires a meeting of Professors. All his recommendations involving expenditure will be submitted to the General Committee through the Registrar.

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Direction  
of Studies.  
Professional  
Director.

"7.—EXAMINATIONS. A professional board of Examiners, composed of musicians of the highest eminence, will be named annually by the Committee of Management, to supervise the local examinations of the candidates for admission to the School, and conduct the annual examinations of the School.

Examina-  
tions.

"8.—The Sessional Examinations, say one at Christmas and one at Midsummer, will be conducted by the Professional Director, who will report the results to the Committee of Management.

"9.—PROVINCIAL BRANCH SCHOOLS. As soon as the Training School is established and is in working order, the Committee will direct their attention to the formation of Provincial Branch Schools.

Provincial  
Branch  
Schools.

"10.—The Lords of the Committee of Council on Education have this year directly recognized the importance of Music in Elementary Education, by making a grant of one shilling on behalf of every child taught singing. It is to be hoped that this action may be completed by the establishment of Provincial Schools of Music, and connected with the Training School as part of a National System.

"11.—CHARTER OF INCORPORATION. When the arrangements are sufficiently matured, a petition will be presented to the Queen, praying for a Charter of Incorporation."

Charter of  
Incorporation.

XXIV. On the 15th June, 1875, His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, as President of the Society of Arts, held an important meeting at Marlborough House, "to promote the establishment of Free Scholarships for the Metropolis,

Meeting  
at Marl-  
borough  
House for  
Metropoli-  
tan Scholar-  
ships.

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Board of  
Examiners  
and appoint-  
ment of  
Professors.

Opening of  
School.

in the new National Training School for Music." At this meeting, His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales publicly announced the munificent gift of the building, which Mr. Freake made to His Royal Highness.

XXV. The attention of the Committee of Management was turned upon the appointment of the Board of Examiners before that of the Professors for the School. And it was upon the advice of the Examiners that the Professional Staff was finally appointed. Dr. Sullivan<sup>1</sup> accepted the post of Principal and Chairman of the Board of Professors. Early in 1876, competitions in different parts of the country were held for the scholarships, which by that time had been subscribed for, and the National Training School for Music with fifty scholars, each holding a scholarship, was opened on the 17th May, 1876.

XXVI. The limits of the "Fifty Years of Public Work" have already been exceeded, and it would be going too far beyond them, to enter into any detailed account of the career of the School, during the six years of its existence. At the end of the five years, a new scheme for a Royal College of Music had been broached, and the Committee of Management of the National Training School were encouraged to keep the School in action for another year. This, through the continuation of the scholarships by favour of their founders, was effected. It had been a fundamental principle in the organization of the School, that no scholar should be admitted who, as an amateur or dilettante, might desire to attend short courses of instruction, and pay fees for attending them. Holders of scholarships only, were admissible. To these, having proved in competitive examinations, their ability as persons of musical talent and knowledge, grants of scholarships were made conditionally, upon their agreeing to undergo a fixed term of two, three, or

<sup>1</sup> Now Sir A. Sullivan.



more years' instruction. The School, therefore, avoided rivalry with any of the numerous Academies and Colleges where fee-paying students, giving optional attendance, were admitted. Its work was, therefore, all the more serious and regular. When the Training School closed in March, 1882, there were over a hundred scholars, each holding the scholarship he or she had gained in public competition. Funds in hand amounted to £1,000, and these with the fixtures, instruments, books, &c., were transferred to the Royal College of Music.

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1858-1873.  
Part I.

Closing of  
the School.





## THE SOCIETY OF ARTS.

### PART I.

1846-1873.

#### I.

THE  
SOCIETY  
OF ARTS.  
A.D.  
1846-1873.  
Part I.



MR. COLE'S connection with the Society of Arts, dating from 1846, when Mr. John Scott Russell, its secretary, induced him to become a member, covers a period of thirty-six years. Established in 1753, by William Shipley, a drawing-master of Northampton, the Society of Arts had been successively presided over by Lord Folkestone, Lord Romney, the Duke of Norfolk, H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex, and H.R.H. the late Prince Consort. The encouragement of art in all branches, held a foremost position in its work. It offered premiums, in the earlier years of its existence, for the discovery of cobalt, for the cultivation of madder, to incite boys and girls to become proficient in the art of drawing, to encourage English carpet-makers to produce carpets in imitation of Turkey carpets. It awarded prizes to young boys destined to become great artists: to Cosway in 1755 (when he was but twelve years of age); to John Flaxman, 1766 (aged eleven years), and in 1847, to John Everett Millais, a gold medal for "an original composition in oil." As early as 1760, the Society had identified itself with exhibitions. A "first" exhibition of the works of native artists, was held

Early work  
of the  
Society.



in the great room of the Society in the Strand, opposite Beaufort Buildings, from which the Royal Academy eventually developed in 1768. The early annals or "Transactions" of the Society, furnish a quantity of historical matter in respect not only of encouragement of art, but also of invention, manufactures and commerce, the retrospect of which cannot be quickly or easily made. On the other hand, from the year 1852 onwards, a weekly journal of the proceedings of the Society has been published, and in its detailed and readable form, anyone may trace the Society's rapid development during the last thirty years in numbers of members, its activity in promoting various undertakings, and in discussing different subjects.

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Journal of  
the Society.

II. In 1845, the Society was feeble in existence. Its annual presentation of medals and premiums, had not secured for it vivacity of action and did not yield it a promise of long life. At the end of a ninety years' life, it could number hardly more than three hundred members, and in its ninety-first year, apparently almost at the end of its resources, the only remaining stock of the Society was ordered to be sold. However, in 1846, a fresh effort was to be made. Its constitution and organization were remodelled, and the Society's first council determined to offer prizes for the production of articles of everyday use, the collection of which was to be exhibited in the Society's rooms. Already interested in the general subject of fine art in its application to all sorts of materials, Mr. Cole's energies in this direction were still further stimulated by his success in gaining, as Felix Summerly, one of the Society's silver medals for a tea-service, the story of which has been told at pages 104 to 107. As a member of the Society, he was instrumental in causing exhibitions of art manufactures to be held by the Society, during the years 1847, 1848, and 1849, exhi-

Feeble con-  
dition of  
Society.

Reorgani-  
zation of  
constitution.

Exhibitions  
of art manu-  
factures.

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bitions of paintings by British artists (Etty and Mulready), with a view to establishing a Gallery of National Art, and in 1850, an Exhibition of Ancient and Mediæval Decorative Art.

Mr. Cole a  
member of  
council.

III. Notwithstanding their success, these exhibitions were not acceptable to certain of the older members of the Society. Mr. Cole had been elected a member of the Society's council, but, in 1850, on the 12th of March, he found reason to address the following letter to the secretary of the Society:—

Letter on  
the policy of  
the council.

"Sir,—As I cannot help connecting Mr. W——'s motion to alter the bye-laws, with his previous attempt in council to affirm the inexpediency of having further exhibitions of manufactures and pictures, and with his declaration that such exhibitions were not the 'legitimate' business of the Society, and as the meeting carried Mr. W——'s motion, which I view as being likely to prejudice the best interests of the Society and its progress, I am unwilling to continue longer a member of council, and be a party to a policy I disapprove of, or be in any wise an impediment to the successful working out of that policy by those who advocate it. In resigning this office, I have the satisfaction of being able to record the fact that, during the last three years, when the present bye-laws were in operation, the number of contributing members has increased from about 320 to 660 members, and that the exhibitions, if terminated, will have done so in making the Society celebrated throughout the world, for being the instrument in promoting one of the noblest institutions which has ever been proposed."

Resignation  
of Mr. Cole.

Proposed  
termination  
of exhi-  
bitions.

Mr. Cole's  
resignation  
accepted.

IV. The "noblest institution" was the projected Universal Exhibition of 1851 (see pages 120 *et seq.*, Vol. I.). Mr. Cole's resignation was accepted on the 18th of March, and he at once set to work to canvass the members for support in maintaining the Society's action with regard to exhibi-



tions. On the 3rd of April, an unusually large number (207) of members held their annual meeting for the election of council and officers. Upon the adverse decision of the majority, the council which had opposed exhibitions was turned out. Mr. Cole became, as it were, the hero of the situation, and twelve days later, he was elected deputy chairman of council, member of a special finance committee, and member of the committee of management. On the 11th of December, he was elected chairman of council, and, in accordance with a bye-law of the new council, the duty of delivering the first annual address of the chairman, devolved upon him. His address was delivered on the 15th of January, 1851, and the following are a few extracts from it :—

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Council  
turned out.

Mr. Cole  
elected  
chairman of  
council.

"GENTLEMEN,—The predecessors of the present Council made a bye-law to render it imperative on the Chairman, as soon as possible after the annual election of officers, to prepare, and read to the members of the Society, an address which should embody the outlines of the policy by which the new Council purposed to increase the public usefulness and promote the welfare of the Society, during their tenure of office ; and I have now the honour to lay before you the first of such proposed annual addresses. You will, doubtless, agree that it was a sound and wholesome regulation, to make it obligatory on the Council to have some definite purpose or policy, without which neither corporations nor individuals can be of much use ; and also to oblige them to declare to you what that purpose is. The Council believe that this relation between the members and themselves, is destined not only to foster reciprocal confidence, but to exercise a very beneficial influence on the progress of the Society, and to enlarge public sympathy with its objects. Indeed, the Council believe that the present flourishing state of the Society is to be attributed to the steady maintenance of a policy during the last few years through good and bad report, and to the means taken to interest the members and the public in that policy. It will be within the memory of many members, that only as far back as the year 1844, the numbers had

Mr. Cole's  
address as  
chairman.

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considerably declined. At the present time, they considerably exceed 1000. It must be obvious that if the decline of the Society was an index which showed that the public was losing its faith in the usefulness of the Society, so the late rapid advance may be accepted as a satisfactory token that there is a returning confidence, and that if members now in numbers seek admission to the Society, it is because they feel that it is usefully at work. The present position of the Society must, therefore, be accepted as a proof that a purpose or policy has for some time been influencing the proceedings of the Council; and it is because the Council are sensible of this fact, and its importance as a principle of action, that they have imposed on themselves the obligation of having always before them a precise aim in conducting the management of this Society, instituted to promote the Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce of the country, and of causing a declaration of it to be laid before the members. And accordingly, the Council will shortly have to ask you to confirm this resolution of theirs, by making it a standing bye-law.

"It is with societies as with individuals, they do not, cannot prosper by following mere formulas. An individual who has no purpose in the world but to vegetate, may as well not exist; and whether he be rich or poor, the world soon finds out that he is little less than an incumbrance, and treats him with indifference. To prosper, indeed, in these times, the man must be at work. We find the same analogies existing with societies. Unless they prove their ability to work, and work to some useful purpose, they become virtually extinct. A society cannot exist merely upon its name. Not only must it be alive to perform the functions it affects to do, but it must perform them in accordance with the advancing knowledge and increasing demands of the time. Men's wants in 1851, are very different from what they were in 1751, when the public wants created the Society of Arts. The Arts, the Manufactures, and the Commerce, at the two several periods of development, appear to be scarcely the same class of things. To teach or practise art as it was taught in 1751, would be held to be ridiculous at the present day. So with manufactures. The Hargreaves and Hoyles, who print calicoes by miles, would smile at the manufacturer who should propose to re-establish a factory at Chelsea, and paint patterns on cottons by the camel's-hair



pencil, as was the case a century ago, in the early days of calico-printing. To go to market again on pack-horses, and not by railways; to carry guineas in pouches, and to be robbed of them on the highways, rather than to use blank cheque-books of the Bank of England; to pay postage in shillings rather than pence,—would be only to revert to the practices of commerce in 1751.

"The Society of Arts had rather too long relied on promoting Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, by the same means and in the same spirit as it had done at its institution a century ago. But that phase in its existence is now passed; and we may hope that the Society is starting afresh on a new career of usefulness, more in accordance with the wants of the present age.

"Considering the intimate and honourable connection of the Society with the great coming event of the year, the Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations, (which, it is no exaggeration to say, is setting the whole civilized world in motion, and which, with the aid of His Royal Highness the President of the Society, is the chief result of the policy already alluded to,) the Council think that their great object during the present session, should be to aid the Exhibition of 1851 by every means in their power.

"The Council do not propose to hold any further Exhibitions this season, in order that the rooms of the Society may be free at all times to promote the interests of the Great Exhibition.

"But it is not only upon the direct, but also the indirect circumstances and wants arising out of the Great Exhibition, that the Council will bestow their attention, and contribute the influence of the Society. There can be no doubt that the Exhibition will give rise to many new relations between men and things. Already a stronger connection between the artist and manufacturer is springing up, beneficial to both. It will be the duty of the Council to foster this connection; and they are considering a plan by which a friendly meeting for the discussion, investigation, and best means of promoting the union of art and manufactures may take place every year, in some one of the great manufacturing centres, somewhat on the principle of the meetings of the British Association and the Archæological Societies. Connected with such a union, the Council feel that much remains to be done to educate the mass of the people in the perception and practice of art, which the Exhibition will probably make but too apparent; and taking advantage of

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the lesson we are likely to be taught, the Council purpose making an effort to establish elementary drawing and modelling schools throughout the country.<sup>1</sup> They have submitted this proposal to His Royal Highness the President, and they have the satisfaction of knowing that he thinks it may prove very useful.

"Already the members of the Society may be congratulated on the successful results of the labours of the influential committee of its members, which has been formed to promote legislative recognition of the rights of inventors.

"The Council believe that at the present time, the Society of Arts will do well to make a considerable change in the kind of inquiries which it promotes. The time is gone by when it was desirable to hold out small rewards for little inventions, because there are now so many other and better modes in which all inventions of real practical value, are published and rewarded. There are other inquiries, which, though of the greatest importance, bring no profit or reward to those who carry them out, the benefit which they yield being shared alike by the whole community. The exposure of unfair monopolies, and the collection of authentic facts and evidence showing the evil effects of legal or commercial edicts upon manufactures or trade, are services of this sort; and the Council, therefore, propose to direct their attention in the ensuing session to a few subjects of this nature, rather than to a larger number of less important matters. Amongst the inquiries which it is proposed first to take up, they may mention the Manufacture and Supply of Coal Gas; the Supply of Water to London; the Influence of the Excise Laws on several Arts; the Manufacture of Sugar in the British Colonies; the Adulteration of Food, &c.

"In conclusion, I have to say that both the past and the present Council have been of opinion that the elections to the offices of the Society should be thrown more open to the members of the Society, than they are by the present bye-laws, which do not provide any proper check against a permanent continuance in office of the Vice-Presidents and Council.

"Such is a brief outline of the policy which the Council hope to carry into effect during the present session; they trust that it will

<sup>1</sup> This, as will have been seen (p. 302, Vol. I.), was a work undertaken by Government upon the close of the Great Exhibition of 1851.



meet with your approval, and that their labours will receive your confidence and support."

V. During the Great Exhibition in 1851, Mr. Cole suggested the offer by the Society, of a prize for a good colour-box, "at a price which would put it within reach of the poorest artisan." A successful colour-box was produced, and in 1870, the maker reported to Mr. Cole that 11,000,000 boxes had been sold!

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Society's  
colour-box.

VI. In 1852, he was again elected chairman of council, and about this time, he urged the Society to examine into the working of the Museums and Free Library Acts throughout the kingdom. At his suggestion, the Society of Arts went in deputation to Government, to induce it to purchase the Bernal and the Soulages Collections, at times when pressure of this description was of use in manifesting public opinion. The question of making the collections of metropolitan museums and the National Gallery available in some way—by loans or grants of surplus examples—to local institutions, was also brought before the Society, in 1857, by Mr. Cole; and in the following year, a Committee was appointed at his request, to report on the establishment of galleries of science and art in different parts of the metropolis. By such means, he endeavoured to arouse a more extended popular interest in subjects closely allied with his official work.

Mr. Cole re-  
elected  
chairman.

Bernal and  
Soulages  
Collections.

Committee  
on establish-  
ment of  
galleries of  
science and  
art in the  
metropolis.

VII. But besides this class of movements having an educational aim, there were others—such, for instance, as Army Reform. During his vacation in 1868, he read certain pamphlets and books relating to the organization of foreign and British armies, which incited him to address three letters on the reform of the army in this country, to the editor of the "Times." On the 3rd, 14th, and 20th September, these letters, bearing the signature, "Lee Cromwell," were published. They furnished the basis of a paper

Army Re-  
form.

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which he read at the Society of Arts on the 17th February of the succeeding year, when Mr. Mundella, M.P., took the chair. A lengthy discussion ensued, and lasted over two subsequent meetings of the Society, at the last of which Sir Charles Trevelyan said, "that the present assembly had been called in ridicule, 'King Cole's Parliament ;' but, for his own part, to his dying day, he should be proud of having taken part in its deliberations." Extracts from my father's paper are given at p. 328, Vol. II.

Drill in boys'  
schools.

VIII. The first step in Army Reform, he considered, lay in "making drill a part of national education in every boys' school in the country." And, with this object in view, he proposed some three weeks later, and the Council of the Society of Arts resolved, to appoint a committee to consider and promote the introduction of drill into all schools.

Visits to  
schools.

IX. Two days afterwards (24th March, 1869): "With Chadwick to Limehouse Union School for pauper children. Witnessed drill, playing, and singing."<sup>1</sup> And again, on 27th March: "With Chadwick and George Bartley to Hanwell Central District School." "To Faversham," on the 17th April, "with G. Bartley; Chadwick came from town. Inspected Infant School; two divisions of the National School; Commercial School and Grammar School, founded by Johannes Cole. Queen Elizabeth restored the endowment, and gave the town the choice of a school or an M.P. Lunched with the Mayor and Trustees." The main business of drill seemed to be threatened with absorption into a far larger work, for "Chadwick said he should suggest to Lord de Grey (then Lord President) to take me from the Museum, and set me to organize National Education."<sup>1</sup> In consequence, perhaps, of which, Mr. Cole proposed that the Council of the Society of Arts should consider

Endowed  
Schools  
Bill.

<sup>1</sup> Diary.



how the Endowed Schools Bill could be rendered operative, in regard to existing endowments for education. Another proposal he brought forward, was that "a conference of working class representatives be held to consider the question of Primary Education."

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X. But the subject of drill in boys' schools supervened; and public annual reviews of schoolboys' drill were established. The first of these was held before the Duke of Teck, at the Crystal Palace. Prince Arthur presided at the second, which took place in the gardens of the Royal Horticultural Society, South Kensington, in 1871. In 1872, the third annual review was held in Hyde Park, before Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales, and prizes were afterwards distributed by the Prince in the Royal Albert Hall. Upon Mr. Cole's suggestion, the Society of Arts offered a banner and challenge prize to be annually competed for. As regards the schools of the London School Board especially, annual drill reviews of school children have grown to be a recognized institution.

Annual re-  
views of  
school boys'  
drill.

Society of  
Arts banner  
for drill com-  
petition.

XI. The Reform of London Cabs was another subject at which Mr. Cole worked in conjunction with the Society of Arts. But to recapitulate the details of this and other movements connected with improvements for social convenience, would require far more space than is available. The Society's action in respect of Musical Education, has been referred to in the immediately preceding chapter. Much of my father's later work with the Society of Arts—that, for instance, to promote National Instruction in Domestic Economy—was undertaken during a period after 1873. In 1871, the Society of Arts awarded the Albert medal to Mr. Cole, "for his important services in promoting art, manufactures, and commerce, especially in aiding the establishment and development of science and art, and the South Kensington Museum." On the 6th March,

London  
Cabs Re-  
form.

Musical  
Education.

Domestic  
Economy.

Albert  
Medal  
awarded to  
Mr. Cole.

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Health and  
Sewage.

Guilds of  
Health.

1872, "To see the Prince of Wales, the first time since his illness. He gave me the Albert medal."<sup>1</sup>

XII. To Sir Henry Cole's energy was due, the holding by the Society of Arts of conferences between 1876 and 1880, on National Health, Health and Sewage of Towns, and National Water Supply, as well as conferences on Domestic Economy at Birmingham, in 1877, at Manchester, in 1878, at London, in 1881, briefly referred to at page 397, Vol. I. My father's scheme of Guilds of Health appeared in 1882, and secured promises of support from many well-known sanitarians. A letter from H.R.H. the Prince of Wales on this subject, dated the 17th April, 1882, the day before Sir Henry Cole's death, runs as follows :—

MARLBOROUGH HOUSE,  
PALL MALL, S.W.,  
17 April, 1882.

DEAR SIR HENRY COLE,

Letter from  
the Prince of  
Wales on  
Guilds of  
Health.

I have read with much attention your proposal to establish Parish Guilds of Health throughout the United Kingdom. So wide a question as that of National Health, affecting in so high a degree the prosperity and happiness of the country, is one in which I naturally take a deep interest, and I can only repeat what I feel assured has occurred of late to all thoughtful persons, that every effort which tends to direct closer attention on the part of the public to the preservation of health, and to the wide diffusion of a knowledge of simple rules bearing on the subject, is deserving of sincere encouragement.

It is satisfactory to note that the support already accorded to the projected Guilds of Health, comes from many of the highest authorities upon sanitary knowledge in this country; and I am glad to find, as President of the Society of Arts, that the Society, in continuance of a work usefully com-

<sup>1</sup> Diary.



menced by it some years ago, is arranging to discuss the means for promoting the formation of these Guilds in all parishes, in cities, towns, and villages.

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The labours of the legislature to improve the broad conditions of health generally throughout the United Kingdom, and the efforts of all local sanitary authorities, should be supplemented by the knowledge and exertions of every individual. I conceive it to be most desirable that everyone should make him or herself acquainted not only with the elementary rules which science may give us, but also with the work of existing organizations for the preservation of good health; and I do not hesitate to express the opinion, that it would be a most humane deed to set in motion measures by which everyone could be encouraged and assisted in obtaining practical information in connection with this subject.

I wish all success, therefore, to the Guilds of Health, and I shall be glad if you will request the Council of the Society of Arts to keep me informed from time to time, of the progress of the movement for promoting their organization and establishment.

Believe me,

Dear Sir Henry Cole,

Very sincerely yours,

ALBERT EDWARD, P.





## CONCLUSION.

### PART I.

1849—1880.

#### I.

CONCLU-  
SION.  
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1849-1880.  
Part I.



COMPLETE indication of the way in which he had intended to have treated the topics for this book, did not exist when my father died ; nothing more than the slight outline, such as that given on pages 1 and 2, had been provided. As the work has proceeded, it has seemed desirable to preserve, if possible, some sort of chronological arrangement in dealing with the subjects detailed at pages 1 and 2. But the periods with which they are connected overlap one another, and hence some difficulty in arrangement has arisen. On arriving at the concluding chapter, there are some few incidents not already mentioned, but not the less worthy, perhaps, of classification under "Public Service." They have not found a place in any of the foregoing chapters, and are therefore grouped together in the present.

#### A JOURNAL OF DESIGN.

The "Jour-  
nal of De-  
sign."

II. The establishment by my father of a monthly periodical called the "Journal of Design," of which he was the



editor, took place in 1849. The first number is dated March of that year, and the last number was published in February, 1852, at which time Mr. Cole having entered upon his duties in connection with the Department of Practical Art, he determined to discontinue the issue of the journal. A novel feature of the "Journal of Design," which was copiously illustrated, was the introduction into it of "actual patterns of manufactured fabrics, both British and foreign." These patterns were "necessarily small, but even the smallest piece of any fabric itself is nearer the reality than any verbal description or colourless diagram." The editor's first address concludes :—"The 'Journal of Design' will have, as it ought to have, politics of its own. In this matter of Ornamental Design, we hope to prove ourselves thoroughly conservative of the best interests of manufacturers, designers, and all parties concerned. We are the advocates for better laws, and a better tribunal to protect copyright in designs, and for a largely increased extension of copyright. We think the restless demands of the public for constant novelty, are alike mischievous to the progress of good ornamental art as they are to all commercial interests. We think that Schools of Design should be reformed and made businesslike realities. We shall wage war against all pirates ; and we hope to see the day when it will be thought as disgraceful for one manufacturer to pillage another's patterns, as it is held to be if he should walk into his counting-house and rob his till. These are some of the points of our political creed with which we start on our undertaking. In conclusion, we profess that our aim is to foster ornamental art in all ways, and to do those things for its advance in all its branches, which it would be the appropriate business of a Board of Design to do, if such a useful department of Government actually existed." These words were written when the inquiry into

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Editor's  
address.

Copyright in  
designs.

Ornamental  
art.

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the almost effete Schools of Design had taken place ; when the Society of Arts was at work organizing its annual exhibitions of art manufactures, when the scheme of the Great Exhibition of all Nations in 1851, was approaching maturity, and when a Government Department of Practical Art was not actually contemplated.

#### TILLINGBOURNE ASSOCIATION.

The Tilling-  
bourne  
Association.

III. A movement in 1856, started by my father of a different character, is bearing fruit at the present day. Of it he has written :—

"In 1856, I took a cottage at Shere, a village near the vale of Albury, midway between Guildford and Dorking, a lovely spot with hills of sand and chalk, and rich with foliage native to those formations. The Tillingbourne stream runs sparkling through the village, and yields trout to the fisherman. The church shows remains of ancient architecture at least six hundred years old, of several varieties, a Romanesque archway, some lancet windows, some decorated tracery. After talking to Mr. Delafosse, the Rector, Lady Lovaine, Mr. Bray, and others, a meeting was held at the school to consider the founding a rural society for the improvement of agricultural labourers, to be managed by themselves.

Mr. Henry  
Drummond,  
M.P.

"Mr. Henry Drummond, M.P., was present at the meeting. The Rector moved that he should take the chair. 'No! no!' said Mr. Drummond, 'every cock on his own dunghill.' Mr. Drummond represented the parish of Albury, and was the owner of its beautiful park.

"I was called upon to explain my views of the society which I called 'The Labourers' Improvement Society.' The society was to hold an annual meeting, to show the produce of the labourers' gardens and specimens of useful



needlework, &c. Continuing further details, Mr. Drummond interposed, and said, 'Have you done?' and so I ended. Then Mr. Drummond proceeded: 'You don't understand the agricultural labourer. He does not want an annual holiday to show vegetables. His pleasure is to grin through a horse-collar, and climb a greasy pole, and run a race in a sack. I object to the name 'Labourers' Improvement Society.' If we make a Labourers' Improvement Society, the labourers will make a 'Landlords' Improvement Society,' and much more it's wanted. When they have improved us, then (looking at the Rector) they will improve other classes who want improvement. I object to the thing altogether! but I will give you two pounds a year to help it on!' And so the Tillingbourne association was founded, and its meetings have been held every year since with increasing interest."

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#### WEEK-DAY MUSICAL CHURCH SERVICES.

IV. At my father's suggestion, week-day musical church services were held by the late Rev. Dr. Irons, in his church (Holy Trinity, Brompton), and should be mentioned. After arranging preliminaries with Dr. Irons, amongst which my father stipulated that at none of the services should the sermon or discourse occupy more than ten minutes (the Reverend Doctor as a rule used to preach for fifty minutes or an hour), an announcement was made by means of large placards and handbills, of the proposed evening musical Church services. Workmen with their wives and families were especially invited to come, and to take part in the services. Mr. Arthur Sullivan undertook to direct the music, and the organ was to be accompanied, as at St. Paul's Cathedral, with drums, trombones, and trumpets. At the time, Mr. Lowe twitted Mr. Cole, telling him that he expected to see

Week-day  
musical  
church ser-  
vices.

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him "prosecuted in the Ecclesiastical Courts for violating the rites of the Church." On the other hand, "Mr. Cardwell sympathized warmly with my Church-music scheme, because he knew I was no Ritualist." Subscriptions to defray necessary expenses were raised by a few friends, and the services were attended by large crowds of people, principally of the working and poorer classes from the neighbourhood. The offertories at these services consisted of many hundreds of pennies and half-pence, the contribution of which was especially invited, numerous boxes being placed about the church to receive them.

Services  
held at  
Birmingham  
and

at Man-  
chester.

V. The success of these services was such, that when Mr. Cole was living at Birmingham in 1877, and afterwards at Manchester in 1878, he induced the vicars and rectors of many churches (not only those of the Established Church) to hold similar services. The hon. secretary at Birmingham reported that "the movement also is being taken up by other churches and chapels in Birmingham, and it is confidently hoped that not only will the attendance at the churches and chapels of the town become very much larger, but that an impetus will have been given to the interest of the people in Church music and singing, which will doubtless be beneficial alike to places of worship in the district, whether they have adopted the musical service movement or not." In Manchester, the movement was warmly supported by the Bishop, who preached at the first of the series of week-day musical services. Similar services were held in many of the Manchester churches.

#### SPEECHES AT DISTRIBUTIONS OF PRIZES.

VI. About this time, Sir Henry Cole was frequently receiving invitations to preside at distributions of prizes to students of Science and Art classes, in different parts of the



country. Some of his speeches, especially those in which he censured the proposition, made after his resignation, of transferring the management of the South Kensington Museum to the Trustees of the British Museum, were sharply criticised in the "Times," "Saturday Review," and other newspapers. From those which appear to have something more than a passing interest, one on "National Culture and Recreation" has been printed at p. 357, Vol. II.

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National  
culture and  
recreation.

#### A NATIONAL TRAINING SCHOOL FOR COOKERY.

VII. In the scheme framed by Mr. Cole for the series of annual international exhibitions, that for 1873 included "Substances used as Food," "Cooking and its Science." A "School of Popular Cookery," was accordingly organized in connection with the Exhibition of 1873. During that year, daily lectures were delivered by Mr. J. C. Buckmaster, and demonstrations of cookery in all its branches were given, attracting considerable public notice. The success was such, as to lead Mr. Cole to consider how this temporary school might be converted into a permanent institution. Accordingly, he invited a number of gentlemen to act as an Executive Committee for the proposed training school. The objects of the school were—

National  
Training  
School for  
Cookery.

1. To train and qualify persons to become instructors in cookery in training schools, board schools, poor schools, and similar institutions.

Objects of  
the school.

2. To send instructors and lecturers with the necessary apparatus to localities and institutions in the provinces, willing to incur the attendant expense.

3. To instruct persons desirous of acquiring a knowledge of the principles of cookery, and paying the necessary fees.

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SION.

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Part I.  
Meeting  
at Grosvenor  
House.

VIII. A public meeting was held on the 17th July, 1873, at Grosvenor House. The plan and objects of the proposed training school, were received and discussed with favour. An Executive Committee was constituted, and the Duke of Westminster agreed to be the President, and the Hon. E. F. Leveson-Gower, M.P., became the Chairman of the new institution, for which, as in the case of the National Training School for Music, Her Majesty's Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851, granted the use of ground upon their estate. For the first two or three years of the school's existence, my father was almost daily engaged in assisting its growth and organization, but afterwards, when he left London for Birmingham and Manchester, the supervision of the school was more immediately undertaken by its Executive Committee.

Handbook  
of National  
Training  
School for  
Cookery.

IX. The official handbook of the National Training School for Cookery, compiled at Mr. Cole's instance, contains many hundred recipes for cookery, framed upon a uniform model, and in so detailed a manner that the series forms a complete course of practical cookery, commencing with lessons upon the use of culinary utensils, and the economical employment of foods suitable for artisans and wealthier persons. This handbook was destined to serve as the published text-book of the practical instruction given at the school itself.

Establish-  
ment of Pro-  
vincial  
classes.

X. In a short time, lecturers who had been trained at the school, found opportunities for doing work in various parts of the country, and gradually, a few provincial classes in connection with the school came to be established. The work and aims of the school were briefly summed up in a letter addressed by Sir Henry Cole to the "Times," dated the 17th August, 1875 (see p. 370, Vol. II.).



DOMESTIC ECONOMY AND ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.

XI. The obvious national importance of sound instruction in economical cookery, led my father to consider how the influence of the work he contemplated should be extended. Accordingly, whilst at Birmingham in 1877, he induced the Society of Arts to hold a conference upon domestic economy as a branch of general education. In the proceedings of this conference, which attracted a large amount of attention from educational bodies and others, my father naturally took a leading part. His paper upon the "Practical Development of Elementary Education through Domestic Economy," is printed at page 373, Vol. II. The Report of the Conference, together with the papers read at it, was published by the Society of Arts.

XII. A similar conference was held in Manchester in 1878, and at p. 378, Vol. II., is printed Sir Henry Cole's paper upon the establishment of a National College of Domestic Economy. A third conference on the same subject was held in London in 1881.

NATIONAL HEALTH AND DRAINAGE OF TOWNS.

XIII. It has been incidentally mentioned that in 1877, Sir H. Cole was at Birmingham. For upwards of three years, *i.e.*, from 1876 to 1879, he lived first at Birmingham and then at Manchester. He had determined to make an effort to induce the Corporations of these two great cities to adopt one or other of the processes invented by the late General Scott, F.R.S., C.B., for the disposal and utilization of sewage. A small company to promote the adoption of General Scott's inventions, had been formed, and my father undertook to act as managing director. To convince corporate bodies and sanitary authorities that they had

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Domestic  
economy  
and elemen-  
tary educa-  
tion.

National  
College of  
Domestic  
Economy.

National  
health and  
drainage of  
towns.

General  
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much new work to perform, and to create a public opinion as to the unscientific and wasteful processes adopted by public bodies responsible for the sanitary disposal of sewage, were tasks requiring a longer time than that which Sir Henry Cole could devote to them. His activity will, no doubt, be still remembered at Birmingham, Manchester, and a few smaller towns in Lancashire. In 1880, Sir H. Cole returned to reside in London. His work had helped to prove, without question, the commercial value and scientific practicability of General Scott's processes to convert sewage either into a portable pulverized manure, or into a cement.

XIV. The first indications of Sir Henry Cole's endeavours to serve the cause of National Health, had been given in his address to the Society of Arts in 1851 (see page 384, Vol. I.), and it is, perhaps, right to have cursorily alluded to them here, although strictly speaking they are outside the prescribed limits of his "fifty years of public service."

END OF VOL. I.





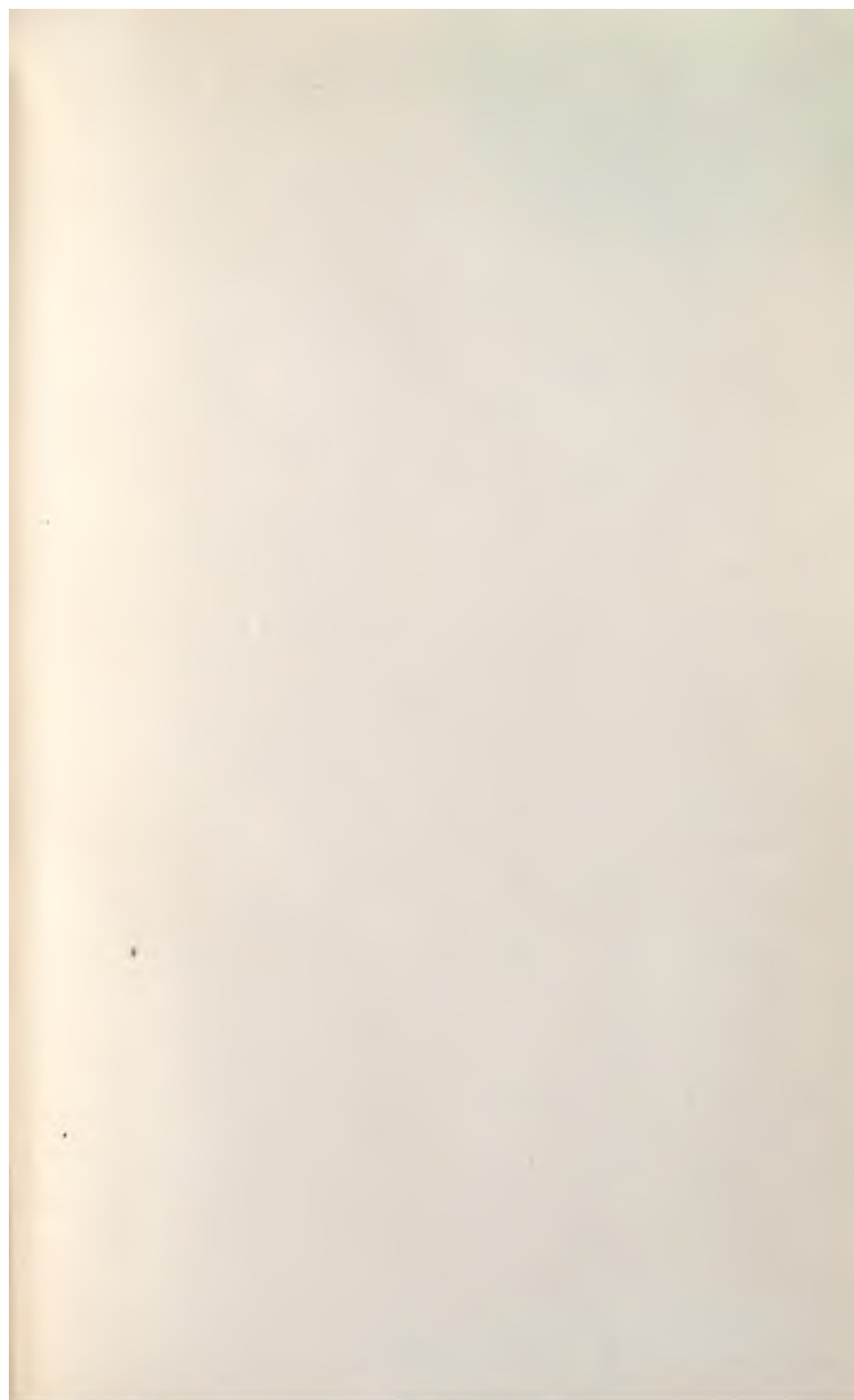
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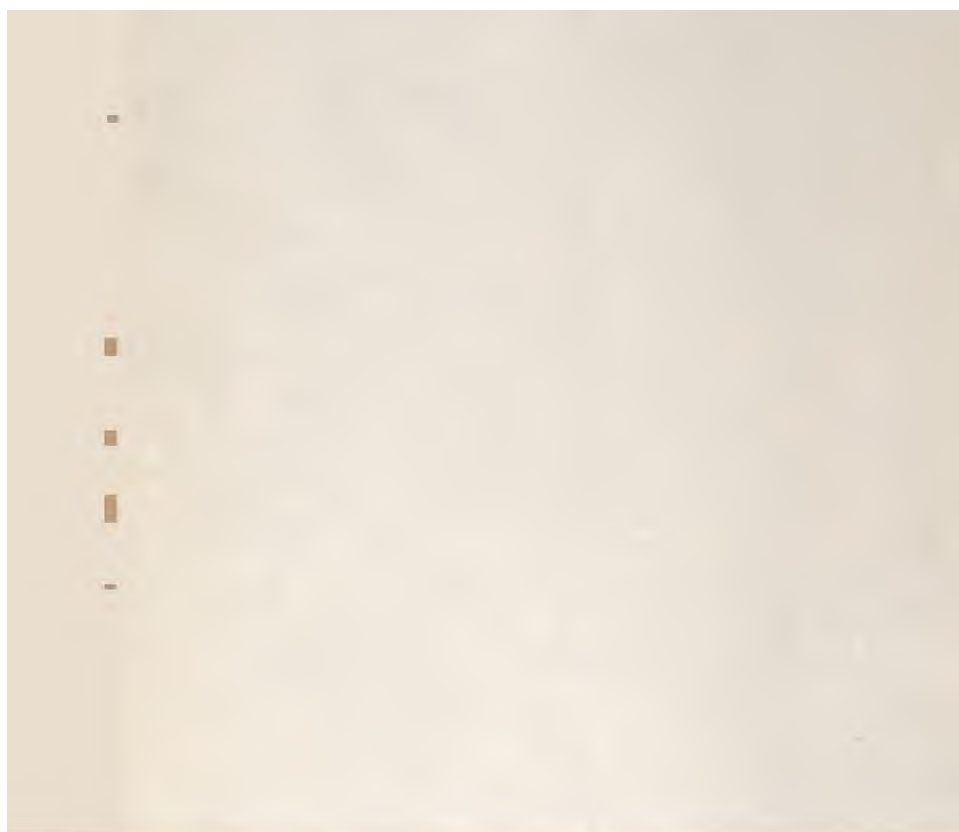
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